COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES

AND

TRAVELS,

FROM THE PERIOD OF

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA,

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN TWENTY-EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. XXV.

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VOL. XXV.

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BOURGOING'S TRAVELS IN SPAIN.

TRAVELS

IN

SPAIN,

By J. F. BOURGOING.*

MY first visit to Spain was in the month of September, 1777, when I held the situation of secretary to the French ambassador. The Spanish ministry having been changed a few months before, it was the object of our government to sound the disposition of Spain, relative to the great quarrel between North America and her mother country.

There are three public roads, which lead from France into Spain, namely, one from St. Jean de Luz to Irun, the other from St. Jean Pied de Port to Rancevaux, and the third from Boulon to la Jonquiere. We proceeded by that of St. Jean de Luz. Instead of taking post-horses from Bayonne to Orogne, which is five leagues distant from the former, and two from the frontiers, I exchanged my carriage, as most travellers do, for a vehicle not very elegant, called, by the Spaniards, Coche de Colleras, and which, till we are used to it, excites many alarming apprehensions. This carriage is rather strong than commodious, and drawn by six mules, to which the voice of the conductors serves either as a spur or bridle. On seeing them fastened to each other as well as to the shafts, with simple cords, and their straggling manner of going, as if without any kind of guidance, in the

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crooked, uneven, and frequently unbeaten roads of Spain, the traveller imagines himself entirely abandoned to the care of Providence; but on the appearance of the least danger, a single word from the chief muleteer, who is called Mayoral, is sufficient to govern and direct these docile animals. If their ardour abate, the Zagal, who is his postillion, jumps from the shafts, where he is stationed as a sentinel, animates them with his voice and whip, runs for some time by their side, and then returns to his post, where he remains until called for by the same or some similar circumstance to repeat his services. This vigilance of the two conductors soon relieves the passenger from his fears, who, notwithstanding, remains astonished that more accidents do not happen from so awkward a manner of travelling. He reconciles himself, however, more easily to this than to the Spanish inns. Their inconveniences have, perhaps, been exaggerated, as generally happens when ill-humour guides the pen; but the truth is, that they are in general without any good accommodations; travellers are badly lodged and served; and those who wish for a tolerable repast, must themselves solicit the aid of the butcher, baker, and grocer. In this respect, however, there has, within these few years, been a change for the better. I have met with some tolerable inns, especially in the principal cities. But till the ministry of Count Florida Blanca, there were no stages or conveyances for the public; nor any roads, on which one could travel post, except on horseback. At present, however, there are a number of excellent roads, and a diligence sets off twice a week from Bayonne for Madrid.

On leaving Bayonne you pass through St. Jean de Luz, after travelling for three leagues over a stony and rugged road. You then cross a bridge, which is thrown over a small arm of the sea, and enter the suburbs of Sibourre. Soon afterward the steeple of Orogne appears in view, and the traveller is about a league from Irun, the first Spanish village on the other

side of the Bidassoa. This is the boundary of two kingdoms: it is a river famous in the political history of Louis XIV. from the island which it forms at a small distance to the right of the place where the river is passed, and called the island of Pheasants. The important interview between Cardinal Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, occasioned it to receive the name of the island of the Conference. It is not a quarter of a league in circumference, is entirely uninhabited, and almost barren; it owes its fame, like many persons of moderate talents, to a fortunate circumstance.

When the traveller has passed this island, he finds himself in the province of Biscay, in Spain. Some of my enthusiastic countrymen will tell you, that the moment they set their feet on the other side of the river, the horizon and soil are changed; that they breathe another air, and feel the influence of a foreign climate. We must forgive them the idle fancy; nature which sports with our geographical divisions, when they are marked by great rivers, or even by arms of the sea, preserves, notwithstanding the change of denomination, a striking similitude between the two opposite banks; it would be the same to her did the rivulet of Bidassoa divide the meadow of a private individual. The banks resemble each other; if the traveller remove from them a few leagues on either side, he will, whether he be a Frenchman or not, prefer the district which leads him from Bayonne to that which conducts him to it. The difference also between the last roads of France and those at the entrance of Spain, is in favour of the latter.

The roads of Biscay may be said to be among the finest in Europe. Few countries, however, laboured in this respect, under great difficulties. Biscay, which joins the Pyrenees, seems to be an extensive continuation of these mountains to the borders of Castile. In tracing a road there were considerable descents to diminish, precipices to avoid, and high

summits to turn with address. Such ground required all the art which can be displayed in the construction of roads. The three provinces of Guipuscoa, Vizcaya, and Alava, of which Biscay is composed, and which, with respect to their private concerns, form three distinct little states, joined their efforts to accomplish this end, as is usual with them when their common interest is in question: Nature has not been prodigal to them in her gifts. Guipuscoa and Vizcaya are unprovided with corn, and are supplied with it by Alava, which with that only resource is almost as well peopled as the other two. In the years 1790 and 1791, this corn trade produced a million and a half of livres. The three provinces of Biscay are the asylum of liberty and industry, and this is the great cause of their common prosperity; for what miracles may not be wrought by these two sisters, who usually go hand in hand? In crossing Biscay, we perceive that their presence has given animation to every object: nothing can be more delightful than the hills; nothing more cheerful than the cultivated valleys. Biscay contains about 116,000 inhabitants, and Guipuscoa, which is about six leagues wide by seventeen long, contains 120,000.

For thirty leagues, the distance between the Bidassoa Vittoria, not a quarter of an hour passes but the traveller discovers some village or hamlet. The towns of Villafranca, Villareal and Mondragon, have the air of independence and plenty. What a difference in the aspect of this country and that of the neighbouring province! I am far from wishing to throw ridicule on the Castillians, whose virtues I esteem; but they are silent and melancholy; they bear in their austere and sallow visages the marks of lassitude and poverty. The Biscayans have a different complexion, and quite another air of countenance and character. Free, lively, and hospitable; they seem to enjoy their happiness, and wish to communicate it to those who come among them. I shall long remem-

ber what happened to us at Villafranca. We arrived there early, the weather was fine, and we wandered on the outside of the town, amusing ourselves with observing the varieties of its cultivation. Several groups of peasants in different parts of the orchards engaged our attention; we also excited theirs. A moment of mutual curiosity caused us to approach each other. My travelling companion spoke Spanish with great facility; he knew, as well as myself, that that language bore no resemblance to that of the Biscayans; but we could not imagine that in a province so long subjected to Spain, the language of the sovereign was unknown: and that it was necessary to have recourse to the primitive tongue. We gave these good people to understand that we wished to taste their fruit. They immediately strove who should be the first to oblige us; our hands were soon filled, and we were strongly solicited to fill our pockets also. Some of the peasants went to procure us fowl and fresh eggs; we had great difficulty in preventing them from being offended at our refusal, and regretted we had no other interpreter than our looks and gestures. We were obliged, at last, to leave them; but as we had rambled without directing our steps to any particular place, and were unable, without a guide, to find the way back to our inn, our benefactors now caused us some embarrassment, as each wished to become our guide. Those whose services were not accepted, kept, for a long time, their eyes fixed on us. They could easily discover that we were surprized at their hospitality. We left them some marks of our acknowledgment, which they received in such a manner as proved to us the disinterestedness of the reception we had met with. Indeed, we seemed, on parting, to quit those amiable natives of the South Sea islands, whom Cook and Bougainville have taught us to love, and yet we were not twenty leagues from Bayonne.

The Biscayans, who are so different in their language and appearance from the Castillians, are not

less so in the constitution of their country. Their province is considered, in many respects, as beyond the Spanish frontiers. Except a few restrictions, all merchandize enters, and is never examined but at the interior limits. The province has other privileges of which the people are very jealous, but so precarious a possession is liberty, that these have recently been more than once attacked.

The taxes which they pay have the name and form of free gifts (*donativo*). The monarch, by his minister of finances requires a certain sum: the demand is discussed by the states, and as it may be imagined, is always acquiesced in. They then levy the sum upon the different cities and communities, according to a register, which, however, suffers frequent modifications. There is one advantage derived from this mode of levying; the impost being paid from the city grants, individuals are not exposed either to seizure or constraint. It therefore seems, in the first point of view, that Biscay taxes itself; and for want of the reality, the inhabitants cherish this shadow, to which, for some years past, they have made real sacrifices. The free commerce of Spanish America might be extended to their ports, if the Biscayans would allow the necessary duties to be there paid; but they look upon custom-house officers as the creatures of despotism, and their jealousy rejects the proffered benefits of the sovereign. They can make no commercial expedition to America, without preparing for it in a neighbouring port, and the most industrious people of Spain, the most experienced in navigation, and the best situated for such a commerce, sacrifice part of these advantages to that of preserving some small remains of liberty. Thus, before the war, which gave independence to British America, all the inhabitants of one of the provinces engaged themselves, by an oath, not to eat lamb, in order to increase the growth of wool, with the intention of rendering useless the manufactures of the mother country.

The Biscayans have certainly had, from the beginning of the last century, an advantage over the Spaniards, relative to the commerce of America. The company of Caracas, known also by the name of that of Guipuscoa, had warehouses upon the coast, and made voyages from one of their ports; but this company have lately been unfortunate, on which account the government determined to relieve it from a burden, which from circumstances became highly inconvenient. Exempted, therefore, from contributing to the expenses of government, its commerce may be renewed from the colony of Caracas, without having reason to fear, for many years, those competitors who have been permitted the same liberty of traffic.

Biscay is remarkable for its roads, cultivation, and privileges, but more particularly for the industry of its inhabitants. This is chiefly exerted upon iron, the principal production of the provinces. In order to improve this manufacture, the Biscayans have recourse to foreign correspondence, public lectures, and travelling. At Bergara there is a patriotic school, where metallurgy is taught by the most able professors, amongst whom is our enlightened and amiable countryman, Proust. Students in chemistry have been sent to Sweden and Germany, where they have acquired, as well in the bowels of the earth as in the shops of manufacturers, such knowledge as has already been profitable to their country; for this word is not a vain sound in Biscay. The inhabitants, separated by their situation, language, and privileges, weak as they are, and confined within narrow limits, are called by nature and policy to feel the spirit of patriotism, and are obedient to the call. This noble sentiment produced the school of Bergara, where the nobility of the country are brought up at the expense of the states; and, not long ago, the same patriotism gave new employment to the industry of the Biscayans by digging the port of Deva, between St. Sebastian and Bilboa.

There are several other such harbours upon their

coasts, which merit the traveller's attention. Bilboa, the capital of Biscay, properly so called, has one where commerce is in the most flourishing state, and whence an intercourse is maintained, in time of peace with France, Holland, and England. It is situated near the sea, on the right bank of a river, which is not a very long current, but the bed of which is deep enough to receive very large merchant ships.

The most important town in all Biscay is Bilbao, or Bilboa, though it does not contain more than 14,000 inhabitants, yet its former industry has much diminished, particularly in respect of its tanneries. It contains about 200 mercantile houses, amongst which are several Irish, English, French and German.

Biscay has always been remarkable for the tenacity which it has displayed concerning its political liberty, though its privileges are very chimerical. No foreigner can be naturalized in Biscay, without proving his filiation or descent, that is, he must prove that his parents were neither Jews nor heretics, and that they have not exercised any vile profession.

On my first journey I left the great road at Arnani to cross by a fine road the mountains which separate it from the sea. From their tops is seen the little city of St. Sebastian, which is joined to the continent by a narrow neck of low land. The port, if an artificial harbour can be so called, is very narrow, and adapted, by moles, for fifteen or twenty vessels, which are there placed as in so many drawers. It is sheltered by an eminence, on which the ruins of an old castle are discovered. From St. Sebastian I kept along the sea-coast, travelling over mountains that surround a bay called the Port of the Passage, and which resembles rather a great pond than a gulph of the ocean. As soon as I arrived at the inner confines, I was beset by a troop of female Biscayans, who spoke to me with some vehemence, without my understanding a word of what they uttered. I was for some time embarrassed to discover the intention of this seeming bar-

ditti; and must confess, that had not a little shame prevented me, I should have shewn some marks of fear. They soon, however, became more calm, and by some words almost French, I understood that these rivals disputed with each other the good fortune of carrying me over to the other side of the harbour. I recovered from my alarm, and threw the apple to the prettiest of the women. It was not an apple of discord; she who had obtained the preference, modestly enjoyed her triumph, without so much as exciting envy. Notwithstanding the presence of my amiable boat-woman, the space I had to cross appeared to be about half a league; at length I arrived at the little town of the Passage, built in the very narrow space between the mountains and the harbour; and climbed up to the castle, which commands its narrow entrance. From this castle there is, on one side, a view of the spacious bason, and, on the other, of the open sea.

From the port of the passage the company of Guipuscoa fits out vessels for the coast of Caracas. After having admired the singular form of this harbour, one of the largest, and perhaps the safest in Europe, I returned to St. Sebastian, and again entered the road to Vittoria.

The city of Vittoria, the capital of the province of Alava, one of three of Biscay, is seen as we descend from the mountains; it stands in the middle of a well cultivated plain, abounding in villages; the town, however, is ill built, and the streets badly contrived; yet it exhibits the appearance of activity and industry. When I first passed through it, I observed a square newly begun, which has long sin[illegible] mpletely finished. Each side contains nin[illegible] s, and one of the fronts of which is that [illegible] man-sion house. The pillars are of [illegible] r. This edifice, notwithstanding s[illegible] an ornament to a city more c[illegible]

Vittoria: the plan was not given by a foreign architect, but by M. Olarvide, a native of Vittoria.

Vittoria being the last town of Biscay, on the side of Castile, the traveller is obliged to submit to all the severe examinations of the custom-house officers; and every thing which is conveyed in or taken out of the place is rigorously inspected; while all suspected letters are stopped. With a view to encourage the art of coachmaking in Spain; every person who brings a carriage into the country is obliged to leave one-tenth of its value here, and the money is not returned to him till he repasses the frontiers.

Five leagues beyond Vittoria, the Ebro appears, and divides the town of Miranda into two unequal parts, the principal of which is that on the left bank. This river is one of those objects aggrandized by the magic colours of history, and is found much inferior to the reputation it has acquired. It is true that at Miranda it is near its source, which is at the feet of the mountains of the kingdom of Leon; but although it formerly served as a boundary to the conquests of Charlemagne, it has not hitherto been made navigable. In the year 1785, the famous canal of Arragon began to justify the hopes which had been entertained of it since the reign of Charles V. Some small vessels from Tudela arrived at Saragossa, where they were received with the most lively demonstrations of joy and gratitude.

By this canal a new conveyance is opened to the productions of Arragon, one of the provinces of Spain, the most favoured by nature, and yet one of the least productive relatively to its extent. Two canals, that of Tauste and [illegible] Imperial canal, both of which begin in [illegible] have the same depth of water, run in [illegible] gs through Arragon, and by turns rece[illegible] ch the Ebro, till they at length f[illegible] ams are the sources of industry [illegible] gh which they flow, and ren- [illegible] heir fructifying waters. The

country of Arragon is already planted with thousands of olive and other trees. The cities and towns, which formerly were condemned to drought and scarcity, are now supplied with fish and water from these canals. The rivers, which from the north of Navarre and Arragon, formerly emptied their waters into the Ebro, have contributed to the flourishing condition of the countries they have hitherto uselessly watered, and the Ebro receives the merchandize which they bring. This undertaking has been effected by labours, which deserve no less admiration than that excited by the wonders of the canal of Languedoc. Besides the dykes, banks, and sluices, with the larger and smaller bridges, which the two canals in their course rendered necessary; there has been constructed in the valley of Riojalon, an aqueduct seven hundred and ten fathoms in length, and seventeen feet thick at the base, in which the little river runs.

We now quit the banks of the Ebro, and, after passing several fertile plains, enter Castile; for we have not yet reached its spacious plains. On leaving Miranda, I discovered the rocks of Pancorvo, which have a most picturesque appearance, and have already received justice from the pencil of several travellers. The village of Pancorvo, three leagues from Miranda, is buried, if I may use the expression, among the rocks. They scarcely leave a narrow passage for the great road, which is overshaded by their threatening summits. Five leagues farther on, we pass through the small city of Bribiesca, inclosed by a wall which has four gates, placed at equal distances. The inhabitants are not opulent, but appear to be active. When I passed through this town in 1777 and 1785, I found it a melancholy and barren waste; but in 1792 it was much improved, and contained many gardens and vineyards.

On leaving Bribiesca to go to Burgos, we meet with two steep hills; and here, to quiet our fears, it is necessary to have an unlimited confidence in the doci-

lity and surefootedness of the mule, and the care of their drivers.

Towards Burgos the road becomes tolerable. This city, the capital of old Castile, is very agreeably situated; the greatest part of it is on the right of the Arlançon, over which there are three bridges. That river describes an arch of a circle round Burgos, and on the other side is a hill, upon which there still remain some ruins of an old fort. The Arlançon embellishes and fertilises all the environs; it renders flourishing the plantations which serve as public walks, waters the verdant meadows, and washes the walls of two remarkable edifices, situated below the city; the first is the monastery de las Huelgas, a convent of nuns, the abbess of which has considerable privileges; the other is the Hopital del Rey, the royal or king's hospital, remarkable for the extreme cleanliness preserved in it, and the healthiness of its situation. The most polished nations might take example from the Spaniards with respect to these charitable foundations. A cruel prejudice has not yet made them fear that the wretched should there find themselves sufficiently comforted to see, without repugnance, such an asylum open to their misery.

Except its cathedral, there is nothing remarkable in Burgos: this is one of the most magnificent and the best preserved of the ancient Gothic edifices. The traveller is not a little surprized at finding in one of the chapels a picture of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, representing the Virgin dressing the infant Jesus, who is standing upon a table. The noble air which Michael Angelo gave to his figures is very observable in these, as is also the strength and correctness of design, to which he frequently sacrificed grace. The cathedral is at the extremity of the city, almost opposite to one of the three bridges over the Arlançon. On the other side of the same bridge is a suburb, where, as throughout the kingdom of Spain, is a miraculous image known by the name of Santo Christo de Burgos.

It is kept in a dark chapel, perfumed with incense, and full of exvotos and silver lamps, and into which persons are introduced in a manner so mysterious, as to have something awful even to those who are no ways inclined to superstition. As soon as the curious are within the chapel, and on their knees, the wax tapers of the altar, on which the crucifix stands, are lighted. The crucifix is concealed behind three curtains, that are drawn one after the other with a studied slowness, which still adds to the religious solemnity. Simple people believe that its beard grows. Devotees attribute to it many miracles, but impartial eyes can discover in it nothing extraordinary.

The new square at Burgos only deserves mention on account of the bronze pedestrian statue of Charles III. being placed in it. It is badly designed, and as badly executed. Indeed it is merely noticed, because it is almost the only monument of the kind in Spain; for though the Spaniards are devoted to their sovereigns, they are less prodigal in this kind of homage than other people.

The Arlançon again presents itself to view on leaving Burgos, and is scarcely ever lost sight of in any part of the road to Villadrigo; a very agreeable village, to the right of the river, at the bottom of a large plain, tolerably cultivated, and less destitute of trees than the rest of Castile. All the environs of Burgos are now in an excellent state of cultivation.

We next perceive the Pisuerga, a little river which runs from north to south, and the waters of which it was intended should be made to supply the canal of Castile, projected and begun in the preceding reign. This project was afterwards almost abandoned, to the great prejudice of Old Castile, which only requires such an opening for the sale and increase of its productions. The canal was to begin at Segovia, and following the course of the Eresma, which falls into the Duero, to be continued as far north as Reynosa, receiving from the little rivers, in its passage, the tri-

bute of their waters. Reynosa is but twenty leagues from Saint-Ander, a sea-port, where all the merchandize exported from Old Castile is shipped. A road, which will be destroyed before the canal is finished, has been made to facilitate a communication by land.

We continued our way along the banks of the Pisuerga, and after having passed two steep hills, the feet of which are washed by the river, arrived at Quintana de la Puente, near to a bridge of eighteen arches, and Torquemada, one of the most dirty and wretched towns in Spain. The Pisuerga is again to be crossed here over a bridge of twenty-six arches, and which has lately been almost wholly rebuilt. Were it not for this river, the banks of which are extremely pleasant, and embellished at small distances by groups of trees, nothing could be more dull and less varied than the road from Villadrigo to Duennas. Before we arrive at the latter town, which stands upon rather a steep hill, by the side of the Pisuerga, which in this place receives the river of Carrion, we see on the left the great monastery of St. Isidro, and on the side opposite, a new road, begun in 1784, by the governor of Palencia, whose residence is but two leagues from Duennas. It was made at the expense of the neighbouring communities, and may serve as a model in any country.

Immediately beyond the hills of Duennas, the country becomes quite flat and naked as far as Valladolid, a considerable city, situated near the Pisuerga, and on the banks of the Esquava, a small river, upon which are established a few washing places for the wool of the neighbouring country. Valladolid is well peopled, and seems very lively, especially at the fair, which is held towards the end of September, but the streets are so dirty as to be disgusting both to the sight and smell.

Most of the churches of Valladolid, those especially of the Dominicans and of San Benito, are elegant, and

particularly agreeable to the Spanish taste, that is, handsome and full of altars richly gilt. They also contain some tombs of white marble, admirably sculptured. The sculptures, as well in coloured wood as in marble, in detached groups, or bas-relief, may be traced back to the revival of the arts in Spain; an epocha which produced Juan de Juni, Berruguete, Becerra, and others, who would have done honour to more enlightened ages.

The cathedral of Valladolid also engaged my attention. This was but an enormous mass of dark-coloured stone, without the least ornament. The pilasters round the nave are of the Doric order, the proportions of which are observed with the greatest accuracy. The cathedral may in time be embellished by art, but it will be impossible to remove a striking defect, which is, that on entering, a high wall behind the choir is the first object that presents itself to view, and hides the rest of the church; it is quite undeserving of the encomiums which Pons has lavished on it. I was still more astonished at not finding in Valladolid, a great city, the residence of a bishop and chapter, the seat of an university, one of the six great colleges of the kingdom, and one of the two supreme tribunals of Spain, any such thing as a map or chart to be sold, nor a single copy of Don Quixote. But in amends, there are convents in great plenty. At one end of Valladolid is an enormous square, called the Campo-Grande, from which are seen thirteen others; particularly one, which is very regularly built, and has three tiers of balconies, in which it is calculated that 24,000 persons may sit at their ease.

I had a fair opportunity to judge of the capacity of this square, when I first arrived in Spain. It was at the time of a bull-fight, which only takes place once in three years. I was struck with the prodigious concourse of people who, from a circuit of several leagues, had collected to see the festivity. The famous Toreador, or bull-killer, named Pepehillo, whose feats

I witnessed several times afterwards, had been sent for from Madrid. He paid his respects to the ambassador, whom I accompanied, by presenting him with several of the bulls as he killed them, a usual tribute to dignified foreigners; and each of these sanguinary tributes was the signal for throwing from the balcony of the corregidor, in which we were, several pieces of gold into the spot of his exploits.

He certainly did not want such encouragement; but he was never known to be more adroit than on this occasion. He fell a victim in 1802, to the ferocity of a bull which gored him in a desperate manner, but which he nevertheless killed.

There are at Valladolid several manufactories; some stuffs and coarse cloths are made there from the wool of the sheep which are kept in the neighbourhood. There are also gold and silversmiths, and one street is entirely inhabited by jewellers. This is very lively and full of business, as are all the others which terminate in the great square.

At one of the great houses in Valladolid, the convent of Fuensaldagne, are three incomparable pictures by Reubens: the colouring is in his finest style. Simancas, the principal depot of the archives of the monarchy, is only two leagues from Valladolid.

Madder is cultivated in these environs, the same as in those of Burgos.

That part of Castile, which lies to the right, on proceeding from Burgos to Segovia, is almost unknown to modern travellers; nevertheless it contains two towns worthy of notice, were it only on account of the contrast of their present poverty and their former prosperity. They are Medina del Rio Seco, formerly celebrated for its manufactories; and Medino del Campo, which was once the residence of several monarchs, the theatre of great events, and the scite of an extensive commerce. In those times, its inhabitants were from 50 to 60,000, but at present they do not exceed 1000 families. Its great fairs for the sale of

the fine Segovian cloths, its beautiful houses and regular streets, are now obliterated from history. Medina del Rio Seco, from 30,000 souls, is reduced to about 1,400 families.

Leon, a town agreeably situated, and which was important even as late as when the kingdom of this name was united with that of Castile, now contains only 1,500 families. Salamanca, which is the second city in the kingdom of Leon, deserves more particular attention, and will be spoken of hereafter. It may be conceived, that during my first journey, I did not neglect visiting this spot, so famous in the Roman history.

The first remarkable place at which we arrived after passing by Segovia, was Santa Maria de Nieva. This town contains six hundred houses. The inhabitants, more happy than those of the greatest part of Spain, have full permission to sell all kind of eatables. They reckon among other advantages, the possession of a miraculous image of the Virgin, and the innocent privilege of having an annual bull-fight, at which all the lovers of that diversion in the neighbourhood assemble, and where the most famous Matadores of Spain disdain not to gather sanguinary laurels.

From the eminence which Santa Maria de Nieva is placed, we discover a fine country, if a large extent of land, in which there is neither running water, trees, verdure, nor country houses, and which offers nothing but the dull uniform aspect of immense fields of wheat, can be so called.

We soon after came to a wood of firs, which bears a faint resemblance to the heaths of Bourdeaux, but the industry of the inhabitants has not taken advantage of the resource which these trees present.

On the outside of the wood the ground becomes bare and uniform. Notwithstanding its dryness, it is well cultivated to the very gates of Arevalo, a town which must formerly have been a considerable city.

It is almost surrounded by a little river, the deep bed of which seems to have been dug for the defence of a fortress. The gate of Arevalo, is a massive building without ornament; it leads to a bridge which is not more indebted to art, but its solidity may brave the ravages of inundation and almost those of time. However, it has not been thought unworthy of a pompous inscription, which informs the traveller that the town and villages for thirty leagues round contributed to its construction. The interior of Arevalo, notwithstanding the impoverished state of the modern inhabitants, still bears the marks of having formerly been an important city. There are some remains of antique columns, upon which are placed miserable barracks and half-rotten balconies. The sight of these called to my recollection those bankrupts, who, formerly opulent, wear out in their distress the tattered remains of their once sumptuous wardrobe. The clergy only preserve their riches in the midst of the poverty with which they are surrounded. There are still in Arevalo eight parishes, and as many convents.

The only cultivation for the space of six leagues, the distance from Santa Maria de Nieva to Arevalo, is that of corn: a few vineyards produce wines, the bitter and earthy taste of which, nothing but habit can render supportable.

From Arevalo to Penaranda, nothing is seen but a fertile and well-cultivated country. Yet, notwithstanding the riches of the earth, the inhabitants seem poor. Reduced to articles of pure necessity, they despise those of convenience, and deprived of all exterior communication and objects of comparison, they seem not to have either the desire or knowledge of these enjoyments. They appear to have no idea of embellishing their inheritances; a pleasure or kitchen garden is to them an object of luxury, which their parsimony refuses. Idleness imposes on them deprivations, and, in turn, the habit of these increases in-

dolence: they will continue in this way until roads, canals, and easy means of conveyance shall have taught them the advantages of commerce.

We passed the night at Flores de Avila, a miserable village, where we suffered every inconvenience. The frugal supper set before us, was twenty times interrupted by the barking of dogs, the thefts of cats, the importunities of beggars, and the cavils of a toothless old woman who did the honours of the inn. We passed the night upon beds as hard as it is possible to conceive beds to be, devoured by the insects, which in Spain so frequently disturb the repose of the traveller. From such miserable repose, we rose early without much effort, and immediately set out for Penaranda, a handsome little town, which contains about a thousand houses. Like Arevalo, it has some ruins of architecture, which prove it was formerly more considerable; it belongs to the counts of the same name, one of whom was the count de Penaranda, so well known in political history, by his arrogance, which twenty times was near breaking up the congress of Westphalia.

The inhabitants of the town have the greatest confidence in an image of the holy Virgin; without the aid of which, say they, they should repeatedly have sunk under their wretchedness. Such are the mild allusions which modern philosophers have had the cruelty to ridicule, and which, perhaps, should be supported for the consolation of the poor, when vigilant and enlightened authority has otherwise the means of remedying the abuses of superstition. Illusions like these are surely innocent, and even precious when their only effect is to nourish hope and patience in the mind of the unfortunate. The inhabitants of Penaranda, like those of most of the Spanish provinces, appeared to me to stand in need of these two resources; they are overburthened with taxes; they painfully earn what they possess, and distress destroys their industry. Their lords, who are sometimes ignorant to

the degree of being unacquainted with the geographical situation of their estates, confide the management of them to stewards, treasurers, or alcaldes, who bring curses upon their names by the abuse of their authority.

I cannot take my leave of the little town of Penaranda, without rendering a tribute of justice to the inn in which I took the necessary refreshment. It is certainly the cleanest and most convenient of any I met with in Spain, and well supplied with provisions.

From Penaranda, after passing by Ventosa, a miserable village upon an eminence whence Salamanca begins to be seen, we arrived at the town of Huerta; and in the inn there, I for the first time observed a singularity, which in some respects well deserves to be imitated in other places. At the entrance we found a placart, in which the alcalde or mayor prescribed to the innkeeper the manner in which he ought to treat travellers, with the price he was to receive for their beds, food, horses, &c. This was well enough, but the foresight of the alcalde extended to forbidding the innkeeper from keeping pigs and hens, from suffering certain prohibited games to be played in his house, and from receiving into it armed men, or women of ill fame. These shackles produce inconvenience, without being of any real benefit to morals, and by these means Spain will long be without good inns, and will consequently be the dread of travellers.

On leaving Huerta we distinctly saw the steeples of Salamanca, and did not again lose sight of them. The road lies along the banks of the Tormes, near to which the city is situated. At a certain distance its situation is beautiful; and were the country a little less naked it would considerably resemble that of Tours, on the banks of the Loire. The appearance of Salamanca is very like that of Tours, as we arrived at it from Blois. To the right are some little barren and stony hills, on which are seen a few habitations, with some tufts of trees, and to the left several copses, which separate

the great road from the river. At about half way we crossed one of the vast pastures or commons, called Valdois, which are but too frequent in Spain, but they are not clothed with that brilliant verdure, which is the finest ornament of the country. A great drove of bulls passed us upon the road. The theatres of the bull-fights at Madrid and Valladolid are supplied from this district. After having frequently been witnesses to their terrible conflicts, it was not without some emotion that we found ourselves surrounded by these formidable animals; but they were at liberty and unprovoked; they had lost their ferocity, and we were soon as much at our ease as we could have been in the midst of a flock of sheep. In fact, the philosopher knows that nature has formed but few mischievous beings; necessity only forces some to become so, and this happens when it imposes the law either of self-defence, or seeking food for nourishment.

On entering Salamanca we passed through dirty streets, narrow and thinly peopled, which do not appear to belong to a great city: but we were agreeably surprized on arriving at the square, which is equally remarkable for cleanness and regularity of architecture; it appeared to us much superior to the Plaza Mayor, of which the inhabitants of Madrid are so vain. This city is built with hewn stone, and ornamented with three rows of balconies that run all round without interruption. The first story is formed by arcades, and their frieze is ornamented with medallions of the most illustrious personages Spain has produced. On one side are those of all the kings of Castile to Charles III. exclusively; on the other those of the most celebrated heroes, such as Bernard del Carpio, Gonsalves de Cordova, and Hernando Cortez. Those to the east are not yet filled up.

The edifices however, which form the square of Salamanca are not the only ones worthy of attention; the cathedral, although cotemporary with Leo X. and built by a number of architects, has paid more

than one tribute to bad taste. It must, however, be admitted, that the boldness of the nave and the finishing of the Gothic ornaments make it one of the most remarkable churches in Spain. When the traveller is informed that, besides the cathedral, there are in Salamanca, twenty-five parish churches, twenty-five convents of monks, and fourteen of women, without enumerating a considerable number of pious foundations, he is neither astonished at its poverty nor want of population. Its university, formerly so famous, to which students were sent from all parts of Europe, has considerably fallen from its ancient splendor, although it is yet far from meriting the ignominious epithets bestowed upon it by modern travellers. By the last form given it by the council of Castile, it has sixty one professorships, without reckoning an anatomical theatre, and the college of three languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin). It contains several able professors, employed in pursuing and forcing from its last retreat the pretended philosophy of Aristotle, the object of the invectives of all Europe, after having been that of stupid veneration, in France and Italy no less than in Spain.

The edifices of this university are composed of two parts, separated from each other by a street. The little schools, (Escuelas minores) are on one side; and on the other the gates of the university properly so called. One of these gates immediately strikes the eye. Besides its being decorated with flowers extremely well sculptured, it bears an inscription, which informs the reader that he is already at the door of the sanctuary of the sciences; the inscription is in Hebrew. This gate opens to a court that leads to the different schools. Bad painting, with which the wall is daubed, indicate the science taught in this part of the building, and Latin verses written beneath, scarcely more tolerable than the paintings, record either the generosity of the principal patrons of the university, as Alfonso X. surnamed the Astronomer,

and Ferdinand III. or the advantages of the science in question. The library is above; it is public, and if the librarians may be judged of by the reception I met with, those who may have occasion to visit them hereafter will be perfectly satisfied with their politeness. This library contains a good collection. We remarked there many foreign books, especially English and French; but there seemed to be but few modern works. The whole consists of upwards of twenty thousand volumes.

Another foundation, more modern than the university of Salamanca, and more celebrated in the present age, is that of the great colleges, or Colegios Mayores. There are in Spain seven houses of education which bear this name. The most distinguished youth of the kingdom are brought up in them; and from them, formerly those who held places in the administration were taken, as I have observed in another part of this work. Such a distinction excited emulation amongst the students of the colleges (Colegiales) and the order of advocates, whose moderate fortunes were unequal to so illustrious an education. The latter have lately been fully revenged, since it was among them the state has found those who do it most honour; and their triumph has thrown a ridicule upon their disdainful rivals. Besides, those who supplanted them produced the reform of the abuses to which these colleges were subject. In 1776, the council of Castile gave a new form to the whole, which by making them more regular, has rendered them more useful.

The city of Salamanca alone contains four of these colleges, those of St. Bartholomew, Cuença, Oviedo, and del Arzobispo. The first, and the most ancient, has been recently rebuilt, and merits the attention of connoisseurs: the architect was a Biscayan, who had formed his taste in Italy; but his genius seems to have exhausted itself in the façade and the court; the interior of the building bears not the least marks of it. It nevertheless contains a library rich in manuscripts,

This college has produced several learned men; such as Alphonso Tostado, whose immense erudition and prodigious fertility of invention are still proverbial among the modern Spaniards.

The college of Cuença, respectable in its appearance by its mass and symmetry, is overcharged with paltry ornaments. The same observation holds with respect to that of del Arzobispo; they are both monuments of the indefatigable patience which characterized the artists of former ages; though it must be allowed they might better have employed their time and pains.

I cannot declare much in favour of the Colegio Mayor of Oviedo. I had indeed heard much of the church of the Dominicans, the front of the convent of the Augustine nuns, and the church of San Marcos, heretofore belonged to the Jesuits. In the midst of this profusion of sacred edifices at Salamanca, it was necessary to make a choice; we therefore confined our observations to these three churches.

The front of that of the Dominicans is an elaborate performance, in the Gothic taste; the nave is spacious, and the light judiciously admitted; the chapels are richly decorated, and in all these respects it appeared to us to resemble many other churches in Spain. But we sought in vain for the fine paintings of which we had heard so many encomiums. The ceiling of the choir is painted in fresco, by Palomino, of whom I have spoken, and who, in writing the lives of the Spanish painters, has given excellent instructions relative to the fine arts. However, it seemed to us that at Salamanca he had not added example to precept.

An officious monk appeared to shew us the curiosities of his church. We presumed he would be our Cicerone for the paintings; but he led us directly to the shrine. Here our disappointed curiosity was a second time obliged to put on the mask of devotion, and immediately we found ourselves in the midst of a dozen soldiers and persons of the lowest rank,

listening to a recital of the list of all the relics contained in the cabinet. My travelling companion, to whom his religion rendered these details less interesting than to the implicit believers, withdrew his attention, and employed himself in endeavouring to explain the exvotos with which he was surrounded. The expositor, astonished that his services should be refused, recalled the wanderer, and made him some exhortations, which, according to the intention of the worthy monk, would have affected a mind prepared for grace; but the strayed sheep remained deaf to the voice of the shepherd. He vainly offered him sometimes the nail, and at others one of the double teeth of some saint to kiss, but the wandering brother would not suffer himself to be prevailed upon. At length the monk came to a little box full of relics. Pope Such-a-one had made a present of it to the community. "We have nothing," said he, "more precious, bring all your chaplets, and rub them against this collection of spiritual riches." Every body present, except my companion and myself, eagerly obeyed the exhortation. I must confess that we appeared a little confused at being surprized without that emblem of a good christian, and the spectators began to look on us with an evil eye. We were quite unknown in the city; and presently recollecting the holy office, with a slight impression of fear, sought for an opportunity to remove the suspicions which we perceived were entertained of us. This we soon found; the monk shewed to his audience a relic, which he told them was nothing less than some of our Saviour's hair. Each bent his knee, whilst the dominican exclaimed: Come near, this indeed merits adoration. I approached with the rest, and devoutly kissed the holy relic. The situation of my companion became a little embarrassing. Was he, by his inaction, to declare himself an heretic; or might he, from respect to the company, consent to do what to him appeared an act of idolatry? His choice was soon made; he

was neither superstitious nor fanatical, and he took the resolution to imitate us. I know several persons of his persuasion, who would impute this to him as a crime; but I think him very excusable in permitting himself to do an act which to him must seem indifferent. Besides, what purpose would it have answered, to have offended so many people by a tacit condemnation of their practice? In the eyes of an indifferent person, the exterior acts of religion make a part of their manners. The times of fanaticism, those of the revolution, as well as those of Spanish inquisition, when it was thought a merit to insult the objects of a religion which was looked upon as idolatrous, and in which my maxims of toleration would have been construed into so many crimes, are happily past. I however wish, for the honour of the Spanish nation, that, as a religion different from that of the established one is suffered in the sea-port towns of that kingdom, a traveller may be able to go over the whole country without being exposed to the danger which my travelling companion would, had he been less prudent, have incurred in the church of the Dominican at Salamanca.

I shall omit the enumeration of all the sacred treasures there shewn to us, except the Bible of the famous anti-pope Benedict XIII. who was born in Spain and deposed by the council of Constance. "Take care," said our conductor, "not to confound him with a pope of the same name who was of the Dominican order; the latter was a real pope." We recollected the words of Molier: You are a goldsmith; M. Josse.

The front of the church of the Augustin nuns is massive and loaded with a profusion of ornaments, but the edifice in general is in a bad state. It faces a castle of the Duke of Alba, which in Spain is called a palace, as the possessions of the grandees of Spain are called states. A part of those of the house of Alba is in the environs of Salamanca; and at the distance

of four leagues from it, there is a city called after their name (Alba de Tormes) in which they have also a palace. But these states and palaces suffer not a little by the continual absence of their proprietors, proofs of which very frequently occur in making the tour of Spain. As long as the opulent landholders shall neglect to animate by their presence their vast possessions, the patriotic societies, establishments of manufactures, encouragements for clearing of lands, and prohibitions of foreign merchandize, will all prove ineffectual to redress the evils which for two centuries have been undermining the Spanish monarchy. They are the most proper persons to second the efforts of administration and insure their success. How can they, who are constantly at such a distance from their estates, redress the grievances committed in their names, project and execute plans of improvement, or encourage and facilitate the sale of the productions of their lands? As long as the obscure and ruinous luxury which they display at court and in the capital shall absorb their riches, they must be deprived of the means of rendering them useful to their fellow-citizens.

The ancient college of the Jesuits, among the sacred edifices at Salamanca, is that most deserving our attention; it has been given to the community of regular canons, under the name of the church of San Marcas, or Saint Mark. In front is a magnificent portal of the Corinthian order. The ancient seminary of the Jesuits, which, at the request of the late bishop of Salamanca, was dedicated to the education of thirty young ecclesiastics, established there in 1778, is upon the same line. The ceremony of their admission by the prelate is represented in a fine painting by Bayeux, a pupil of the famous Mengs, and one of the best painters now in Spain. The paintings upon the walls of the great cloister have for their subject the principal actions of the life of Saint Ignatius; the Jesuits had them painted at Rome.

The back part of the edifice is occupied by a community of Irish priests; which causes the church of Saint Mark to be improperly called the Irish church.

Before we left Salamanca, we went to visit the ancient Roman bridge of twenty-seven arches, over which, on leaving the city, we passed the little river of Tormes, and afterwards took the road to Madrid.

Olmedo is separated from Valladolid by eight leagues of sandy soil. In all this distance there is no other verdure to be seen than that of a dull forest of pines, at first to the left of the road which afterwards passes through it. Valdestillas is half way, and a league farther on we pass the Douro over a handsome bridge, to the right of which there are some houses under ground, and detached vaults, in which is preserved the wine made in that part of the country.

Olmedo is seated upon a eminence, in the middle of a plain, which appears almost unbounded on every side, except to the north-east, in which direction are seen some barren hills. This city, which was formerly strong, is still partly inclosed by thick walls, three quarters of a league in extent. It has very few inhabitants or manufactures, and its whole internal appearance announces its decay. There are however still seven parishes and as many convents. A few bricks are made in or near the town, and the inhabitants feed hogs and turkeys. Some vineyards in the neighbourhood, and a few kitchen gardens under the ancient walls, constitute all the riches of Olmedo.

Segovia is eleven leagues from Olmedo. The country round this city is the most barren, poor, and depopulated part of all Castile. On passing through some towns, such as Santa Maria de Nieva, and Giusti, we perceive the turrets of the castle of Segovia and the steeple of the cathedral at a considerable distance. The traveller suffers much from impatience before he arrives at this city; he has several circuits to make, with many painful and tedious efforts, before he has climbed, as it were, up to the square of Segovia. On

approaching, he sees to the right an old castle built upon the summit of a steep rock; and to the left, a valley watered by a little river from which it receives its verdure. His imagination is by turns exalted and delighted. He forgets the parched and barren country he has passed through, and of which he will find a continuation on leaving Segovia, because he is wholly intent on the fine prospects by which he is surrounded.

This city, which formerly was famous on several accounts, is, notwithstanding its dirtiness and the small number of its inhabitants, still not unworthy the attention of the traveller. Its principal edifices are the cathedral and the castle of Alcazar.

The cathedral is a mixture of the Gothic and Moorish architecture. The inside is very spacious, and of majestic simplicity; the windows are well disposed, and the great altar has been lately decorated with the finest Grenadian marble. A circumstance much to be regretted, is, that in this cathedral as well as in most others of Spain, the choir is placed in the middle of the nave.

The Alcazar of Segovia, formerly the residence of the Gothic kings, is an edifice in a good state of preservation. Charles III. established a military school in it, for young gentlemen intended for the artillery. Their education in every particular is highly creditable to the inspector-general of the artillery, who is the governor of the institution.

The Alcazar was for a long time made use of as a prison for the crews of the Barbary corsairs who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. It was impossible to see, without compassion, those robust Moors, condemned to a painful idleness, and devoting themselves to sedentary employments. They were, however, never treated with rigour, and the court of Spain, twenty-five years ago, restored them to their country, on forming connexions with the Emperor.

But nothing is more worthy of attention at Segovia

than the aqueduct, which the singular situation of the city renders necessary.

Segovia is built upon two hills, and the valley by which they are separated; it besides extends considerably in every direction. This position made it very difficult for a part of the citizens to be supplied with water. The difficulty was, however, removed, according to the learned, in the reign of Trajan, by an aqueduct, which, until this day, is one of the most astonishing, and the best preserved, of the Roman works. It begins on a level with the rivulet it receives, and is, at first, supported by a single line of arches, not quite three feet high; it runs by a gentle ascent to the summit of a hill on the other side of the city, and appears to become more elevated in proportion as the ground over which it is extended declines. At its highest part it has the appearance of a bridge boldly thrown over a prodigious abyss. It has two branches which form an obtuse angle, relatively to the city; and it is at this angle that it becomes really awful. Two rows of arches rise majestically one above the other, and the spectator feels some impression of fear in comparing their slender base with their amazing height; for its solidity, which has braved upwards of sixteen centuries, seems inexplicable, on closely observing the simplicity of its construction. It is composed of square stones, placed one upon another, without any exterior appearance of cement, though we cannot now be certain whether they were really united without this aid, by being cut and placed with peculiar art, or whether the cement has been destroyed by time. One cannot, without regret, see wretched houses reared against the pillars of the arcades, seeking in these durable ruins a support for their weakness; and, in return for this benefit, degrading a monument which even time has respected; but these scarcely rise to a third of the height of the aqueduct, and serve, at least, to give an appearance of greater projection to its awful mass. A small, ill-

built convent has been erected behind the angle which forms the two branches. But what nation has not been guilty of like profanations? Let those of my countrymen, whose indignation may be excited by this, remember the amphitheatre at Nimes.

The houses near which this beneficent aqueduct passes, lay it under contribution on paying a certain duty, and it was of the greatest utility to the houses, formerly much more numerous than at present, in which the wools of Segovia were washed and dyed.

The best wools in Spain are those of the districts of Segovia, those of the country of Buytrago, seven or eight leagues east of Segovia, those of Pedraza to the north; and towards the Douro, those of Avilla and Leon. The accounts which I received in Spain during the first eighteen years I resided in that kingdom, enabled me to form a judgment of Spanish wool. I shall only present my reader with the most interesting results of my inquiries.

In the first place, it is an almost universal opinion, although combated by several well-informed persons, that the wools of Spain do not so much owe their fineness and quality to the temperature of the climate or the nature of the soil on which the sheep are bred, as to the custom of driving the flocks to different parts of the country. Two observations, well supported, will perhaps, be sufficient to invalidate this opinion. The first is, that in Estramadura there are flocks of sheep which are never driven to any other place, yet there is no sensible difference between their wool and that of those which are almost constantly in motion; the second is, that even in the environs of Segovia, there are small flocks which are never driven thence, and their wool is as fine as that of those which are. I have been assured by the people of this district, that of the twenty arrobes of fine wool grown there, nearly a third was produced by the stationary flocks. Whence therefore is derived the custom, so troublesome in various respects, of driving several millions of sheep all

over Spain?* From that which causes, propagates and establishes abuses, from the private interests of the great, which, in Spain, gave birth to the ruinous privileges of the Mesta. This is a company of great proprietors of flocks, composed of rich religious communities, grandees of Spain, and opulent individuals, who find the account in feeding their sheep at the expense of the public in every season of the year, and who, by impolitic laws and regulations, have given sanction to a custom which necessity first established.

The mountains of Soria and Segovia, condemned to sterility by the climate, soil, and the steepness of their sides, were formerly the asylum of some neighbouring flocks. At the approach of winter the place was no longer tenable. The sheep sought, in the circumjacent plains, more temperate air. Their masters soon changed this permission into a right, and united themselves by an association. This company in time became augmented by the addition of others, who, having acquired flocks, were desirous of enjoying the same privileges. The theatre was extended in proportion as the actors became more numerous, and, by degrees, the periodical excursions of the flocks were extended to the plains of Estramadura, where the climate was more temperate and pasturage in plenty.

When the abuse began to appear intolerable, it

* In the 16th century the travelling sheep were estimated at seven millions: under Philip the Third, the number was diminished to two millions and a half. Ustariz, who wrote at the beginning of the last century, made it amount to four millions. The general opinion is, that at present it does not exceed five millions. If to this number the eight millions of stationary sheep be added, it will make nearly thirteen million of animals, all managed contrary to the true interests of Spain, for the advantage of a few individuals. For the proprietors of stationary flocks also have privileges, which greatly resemble those of the members of the Mesta.

had already taken deep root, and affected the interest of the most powerful citizens. The consequence is, that for more than a century, there has been a continued struggle between the company of the Mesta on one part, and the lovers of public good on the other. If a traveller pass though Spain in the month of October, when the tras humantas * arrive in great numbers in and about the plains of Estramadura and Andalusia; or in the month of May, when they return towards the mountains of old Castile, he may be surprized to learn that these animals have the right of pasturage on every common in their way, that the laws annex a breadth of ninety varas † to the road by which they pass; that the pastures which are reserved for them in Estramadura are rented at a very moderate rate, and that the proprietors have for a long time vainly solicited an augmentation of price.

This crying abuse has been attacked by many enlightened Spaniards, as well in our time as in preceding centuries. Much has been written upon it by the Count de Campomanes, Don Antonio Ponz, and before them by Arriquibar, Lernela, Ustariz, and the laughing philosopher Cervantes, who, under the veil of pleasantry, has given such wise lessons to mankind, and more especially to his fellow-citizens. But that which appears so easy to eradicate is connected with many circumstances with which most people are acquainted. Without repeating what we have said concerning the influence of persons of wealth and power, who in every country have at all times been the greatest obstacles to useful reforms, let us consider the reason why the feeding of sheep is preferred to agriculture. Within the last hundred years the value of wool has doubled, whilst grain, the cultivation of

* The Spanish name for the travelling sheep.

† The Spanish vara is to the ell of France as to 5 to 7; ninety varas therefore make about forty toises or fathoms.

which requires so much labour and is so precarious, has scarcely risen at all in price. Ten thousand head of sheep produce communibus annis, two thousand arrobas, or five hundred weight of wool: If we estimate the arrobe of wool at a hundred rials, or twenty-five livres, these ten thousand sheep will produce fifty thousand livres, (about two thousand pounds), from which, indeed, the expense of feeding, that of travelling, the rent of their winter pastures, shepherds' wages, and other trifling expenses, must be deducted, but which leaves a neat produce sufficiently considerable to render this kind of property very valuable. With respect to the custom of making the sheep travel, it must be observed, that besides its being sanctioned by the laws, and having acquired by long custom the nature of a property, several circumstances conspire not only to excuse it, but even, perhaps, to render it necessary. The number of sheep must be diminished or some of them must wander. Those which, during the fine season of the year, feed upon the mountains of Segovia, Soria, Cuenca, and Buytrago, would in winter perish with hunger; and where can a better asylum be found for them than in Estramadura, a province badly peopled, not rich, and where pasturage is the only resource?

In fact, how would it be possible besides to persuade the proprietors of flocks voluntarily to renounce a property easily managed, and of which the almost certain produce finds an inexhaustible market in manufacturing countries, where the wools of Spain are so eagerly bought up? It must however be allowed, that the Spaniards might still reap greater advantage from this commerce. The French, Dutch, and English go to Bilboa and Saint Ander in search of the wools of Segovia and Leon. They do not even leave to the natives the commission upon the sales. They purchase the wool from the shepherds, and get it washed at their own expense. Of a million of ar-

robes *, which Spain annually gathers of fine wool, more than five hundred thousand are exported, washed, and a lesser quantity in the grease. The duties upon this exportation, which it has not hitherto been thought proper to limit, are calculated at about five millions of livres (about two hundred thousand pounds) another reason for not hastily endeavouring to remedy the abuses complained of by the patriots. Such a resource is not too easily to be abandoned, without having an equivalent at hand.

Many attempts have been made to introduce the Spanish sheep into France, particularly by M. Daubenton, who has for thirty years superintended the flocks on his estate at Rambouillet. The wool they produce cannot be distinguished from that of Spain; but they have much to encounter from the change of climate and food. Out of 360 sheep which I sent him from Spain at different times, about 60 perished on the journey, though the Spanish shepherds proceeded with them very slowly, and even though they were kept for the winter at Bourdeaux, to render them less susceptible of the colder climate of France. But this increase of mortality is the common consequence of proceeding to a great distance from south to north, and men are even less exempt from it than animals. In France there is usually a great mortality amongst the lambs of these sheep, and in the severe winter of 1794 and 1795, great numbers died through the cold. Another circumstance in favour of Spain is, that the lambs are born in October, while in France, the sheep do not drop them till January.

Since the Revolution, great efforts have been made to encourage the growth of Spanish wool in France;

* The arrobe is twenty-five pounds. The middle price of the best wools is from twenty-three to twenty-four livres (20s.) the arrobe in the grease, upon which a duty of five livres ten sols (4s. 7d.) is paid on exportation. The washed arrobe is paid double the sum.

and in 1798, M. Gilbert was sent thither to select and purchase a number of the animals. He procured about 1200, but fell a victim to the fatigues of his journey. The charge is now committed to thirty agents: and at the beginning of 1805, they expected to be able to obtain 1000 sheep, for which they had contracted.

They make the fine wools into cloth in several places, but no where better than at Guadalaxara, the manufactories of which I visited towards the end of the year 1783; but which, since then, have undergone various alterations, according to the objects which the superintendants have had in view. I observed, with much surprize, that the art of manufacturing wool had in several respects made a considerable progress. I say with surprize, because I had so often heard it asserted, that the Spaniards understood nothing of the matter; that they knew neither how to card, spin, weave, dye, mill, nor calendar; that their cloths were of a bad texture and wore very badly; and that the price was exorbitant. How many prejudices of the same nature vanish upon impartial and careful examination! I shall state but one fact to prove, that what is said of the bad quality of the cloths of Spain is not universally true, and that the Spaniards are in a fair way of checking all similar reproaches. I was shewn at Guadalaxara, pieces of scarlet cloth, which for colour and quality appeared to me worthy to be compared to the best cloths of Julien. These are worth thirty-nine livres (1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) an ell, in the town where they are made, and according to the tarif in the manufactory of Guadalaxara, I observed that the price of the finest scarlet was no more than from thirty to thirty-one livres (25*s.* to 25*s.* 10*d.*) an ell. On comparing other articles of the tarif, the same difference appeared between the price of Spanish cloths and those of France, but to the advantage of the former. What appears more surprizing is, that the manufactories on the king's account, were

regulated with but little economy, and that of Guadalaxara with still less. Since I was there some alteration has been made, which will improve the operations, and be the means of reducing the price of the productions. This, however, was one of the most complete manufactories any where to be met with; it contained, within a small space, all the instruments and machines necessary for making cloth, except the thin smooth paste-board which is put between the folds of a piece of cloth before it goes into the press; this was imported from England, the rest was the production of the place, not even excepting the shears with which cloths are shorn. There were eighty looms for the cloths of the first quality, properly called cloths of San Fernando, from the place where they were first manufactured; a hundred for those of the second quality, and five hundred and six for serges, with which the Spaniards hope to do in time without those of England.* These looms, contained in two buildings, employed three thousand eight hundred and twenty-five persons, all paid by the king,† besides near forty thousand dispersed over the countries of Mancha and the Castiles, who spun the wool intended to be manufactured at Guadalaxara. On the whole, I am of opinion, that it would be difficult to find a manufactory better established. The city, wherein it is carried on, forms a striking contrast with those in the neighbourhood. I saw not one beggar or idle person among the fifteen or sixteen thousand inhabitants it contains. When Charles IV. visited them, in 1791, they gave employment to

* It was calculated at the time here referred to, that Spain annually paid to England two millions sterling for woollen articles alone.

† His catholic majesty furnished from his treasury, for the support of this manufactory, a hundred and fifty thousand livres a month; an exorbitant sum, which possibly might not be returned by the sale of the cloths.

24,000 persons, who, as well in the town as its environs, manufactured cloth to the annual amount of 140,000 of rials. Such is the advantage of manufactures, and especially those of cloth; that they afford many trifling employments of which children, and the aged, and infirm are capable. These are aids which the arts offer to weak or suffering humanity, to those whom nature seemed to have condemned to inutility and a burdensome languor. We must, however relate the whole truth; the Spaniards in general confess themselves inferior in the arts of dyeing and milling their cloths; but as they possess the first materials, as well for manufacturing as for dyeing, a few persons skilled in these two arts would be sufficient to carry several of their manufactures to the greatest perfection, and the government has of late years neglected no means to procure them.

Guadalaxara is also the only place in Spain where the famous cloths of Vigonia are made; a valuable commodity, which the rest of the globe must envy Spanish America.* As this kind of cloth is not yet much in use, the manufacture of it is not regularly continued. It is difficult even to procure a few ells of it, without having given for them a previous order of some months. Some of this cloth also is made for the king of Spain, who makes presents of it to different sovereigns. In 1782, his majesty sent twenty pieces to the grand seignior, immediately after the treaty which he had just concluded with the Porte. They were very well received; and it was said, on this occasion, that Spain would not be sorry to give the Turks an inclination for their cloths. Manufacturing nations were a little alarmed at this, but perhaps without much reason. The Spanish government is too wise to undertake to rival these nations

* The wool is obtained from the province of Buenos Ayres and from Peru; that of the first is longer, but the other is more silky.

in such a commerce, until it is enabled, from its manufactures, to supply the twenty millions of subjects in its own dominions. Spain knows how far she yet is from such a state of prosperity. The manufactory of Guadalaxara finds in that of Brissuega, at four leagues distance, a kind of assistant. The latter contains a hundred looms, all employed in weaving cloths of the first quality.

Segovia which has always been famous for the goodness of its wool, was formerly not less so for the number and perfection of its manufactures. It is fallen from its ancient splendour to a degree afflicting to every friend of his country. In 1785, the number of looms did not exceed two hundred and fifty, and it has since still more decreased; though its patriotic society pretends that when in full trade, it had six hundred looms.—The most considerable of its manufactories was that of Ortiz, established in 1779, under the name of the Royal Manufactory; the king allows a certain sum to be employed in it. Ortiz furnished employment, in 1785, for three thousand persons in Segovia and the environs, and had sixty-three looms at work, in which cloths of every quality, from pieces, which according to the ordinances, contain two thousand threads, to those of four thousand, were manufactured. The idleness of the inhabitants of that city was the only obstacle to an industry which might otherwise have been considerable, the privileges by which the minister wished to encourage the first undertakings are not burthensome to the rest of the manufacturers. They all sell in competition at a price by no means exorbitant. The dearest cloths in the month of September, 1785, cost no more than ninety rials a vara, which is nearly thirty-one livres ten sols (26s. 3d.) an ell.—Don Ortiz, the owner, made a princely fortune. He died in 1788, but his heir i equally zealous and clever. The manufactory of Ortiz, is the only one in Spain, except that of San Fer-

nando, at Guadalaxara, at which superfine cloths are now made.

We may form ideas of every thing relative to the Spanish sheep and their precious soils, without going far from Segovia. It is in the neighbouring mountains that a part of the wandering sheep feed during the fine season. They leave them in the month of October, pass over those which separate the two Castiles, cross New Castile and disperse themselves in the plains of Estramadura and Andalusia. For some years past those of the two Castiles, which are within reach of the Sierra-Morena, go thither to pass the winter; which, in that part of Spain, is more mild: the length of their day's journey is in proportion to the pasture they meet with. They travel in flocks from a thousand to twelve hundred in number, under the conduct of two shepherds; one of whom is called the Mayoral, the other the Zagal. On reaching the place of their destination, they are distributed in the pastures previously assigned them. They return in the month of April; and whether it be habit or natural instinct that draws them towards the climate, which at this season becomes most proper for them, the inquietude which they manifest might, in case of need, serve as an almanac to their conductors.

In the month of May, while on their return, they are shorn, an operation of considerable magnitude in Spain, because there it is performed in great buildings, contrived so as to receive whole flocks of forty, fifty, and sometimes sixty thousand sheep. Each flock, belonging to one proprietor, is called cavana, which is pronounced cavanya; they take the name of their proprietors. The most numerous cavanas are those of Bejar and Negretti, each of which consist of sixty thousand sheep. In that of the Escurial, one of the most famous, there are fifty thousand. Prejudice or custom gives a preference to the wool of one cavana to that of another. Thus, for instance, no wools, except those of the cavanas of Nigretti,

the Escurial and Paular, are made use of at Guadalaxara. The harvest and vintage in corn and wine countries are not seasons of greater festivity. The sheep-shearing is a time of rejoicing, both to the owner and workmen. The latter are divided into classes, each of which has its distinct employment. A hundred and twenty-five workmen are necessary to every thousand sheep. Each sheep produces four sorts of wool, more or less, fine according to the part from whence it is taken. In the neighbourhood of Segovia there are several shearing-houses (Esquileos). One of the most remarkable is that of Iturvieta.

As soon as the shearing is finished, the wool is made up in bags and sent to the sea-ports, where it is shipped without any other preparation, or to the washing or scouring places in different parts of Castile. There are several in the district of Segovia. I particularly examined one of the most considerable, that of Ortijosa, three leagues from St. Ildefonso. I was there convinced that this operation, imperfect as it appears at first sight, because foreign manufacturers repeat it before they make use of the wool, sufficiently answers the intention, which is to preserve the wool, so that it shall not be possible for the longest voyage to alter its quality. All the wool used in the royal manufactory of Guadalaxara is scoured in this quarter. The quantity annually scoured here is about forty thousand arrobes (or five hundred tons) which by this operation is reduced to almost the half. The situation could not have been better chosen; it is very spacious, and forms a kind of bason, the inner divisions of which are meadows, on an easy declivity, which terminate in a common centre, and are open to the rays of the sun in every direction.

The wool is carried thither in the state it was when taken from the sheep: each fleece is as it was first made up. In this form it is given to the Apartadores, who divide it into three heaps of different qualities.

They are so accustomed to this business, which requires a long apprenticeship, that they can tell, at first sight, from what part of the animal each lock of wool has been taken. These three sorts thus separated are extended upon wooden hurdles, where they are spread beaten and cleaned from the dust and dirt adhering to them; they are afterwards taken to the washing place.

As soon as the water in the great copper, which is of an enormous size, is on the point of boiling, it is let out by two great spigots that open or shut certain pipes by which it is conveyed into three square wells, lined with hewn stone, and about three or four feet deep. The hot water falls upon a bed of wool, which covers the bottom of the well. The wool thus disposed is turned in every direction by three men. Each sort of wool is washed separately; and, according to its fineness, requires the water to be more or less heated.

After this first operation, the wool is again spread upon hurdles to drain off the water, and with it the filth, which it has begun to dissolve. The coarse locks are also separated from the rest, and sold for the benefit of the souls in purgatory; for, in Spain, religion is connected with every thing. The Spaniards mean to sanctify by this association, frequently not a little ridiculous, their occupations, riches, and even their pleasures. The motive, however chimerical, is amiable; the design commendable. Pity it is that as much cannot be said of the means. But let us return to our subject.

The hurdles upon which the wool is spread out, are placed in an interval of three or four feet, which separates the stone-walls from the narrow aqueduct, also of stone, through which runs a stream of cold water. A man placed at the entrance of the aqueduct receives the wool, and throws it in; while five men, who stand by the side below the first man, press and rub it with their feet as it passes, and send it

from one to the other. Still lower down are other workmen who stop it in its passages, and throw it on a stone slope, where it drains, while the water runs off into a gutter contrived below the slope. A net, placed at the extremity of the little aqueduct, retains the locks, which, from time to time, are carried away by the rapidity of the current.

When the wool is well drained, it is spread upon the declivity of the meadows which we have before-mentioned, and four fine sunny days are scarcely sufficient to dry it thoroughly. When is it quite dry it is put in bags to be carried away. Initial letters upon the bags indicate the sort of wool contained in each; and, beside these, there is a mark which distinguishes the flock by which it was furnished; so that a connoisseur, who saw the bags, would say, this is fine or superfine wool of the Escurial, Negretti, or Bejar flocks.

I make no apology for these details; they may furnish our proprietors of sheep with useful knowledge, as well as give hints to our manufacturers, of the use to be made of our wools, or at least inspire them with emulation, and indicate to them the means of improvement. They may moreover serve, in many respects, to vindicate the Spaniards from the charge of idleness and ignorance, which has so frequently been brought against them. If we were sedulously to imitate the example they have set, the whole advantage of the Spanish wool-trade might be soon turned in favour of France.

It is now time to leave Segovia and its environs, and conduct the reader to the castle of St. Ildefonso, which is only two leagues farther. The high mountains which command it are seen at a great distance, and scarcely has the traveller quitted Segovia before he discovers the castle itself, which the rising or sinking of the road, from time to time, conceals or discloses. Appearances by no means announce the residence of a great court. The country is barren, and

a few wretched hamlets at small distances, give no idea of the enlightened presence of any monarch. Nor would it indeed be suspected, that in that spacious and naked horizon, there were manufactories of various kind, such as of paper, cloth, and glass, or that the environs of St. Ildefonso were decorated with rivulets, cultivated fields, meadows, and clumps of green oaks; and again, after having seen all these, is it possible to conceive that the result should be so poor and dismal? This must first be attributed to the nature of the soil and the situation of that part of Castile, surrounded by mountains, and without roads, canals, or navigable rivers. But it must be more particularly ascribed to the numerous herds of deer which live in peace in this district, and never have their repose disturbed by the royal huntsmen who pass there about three months in the year, and appear more disposed to preserve than to destroy them.

As we approached St. Ildefonso, the country, however, becomes more beautiful; a number of rivulets meander through the fresh verdure, and the deer wander in herds in the copses, or bound upon the hills in a security which could not be expected in those timid animals; the tops of a few handsome houses appear above the green oakes; and the group, formed by the castle and the adjoining edifices, crowned by mountains, some naked, others covered to their summits with trees and shrubs, present a very pleasing prospect. At length we arrive at the gate fronting the royal residence, and which is separated from it by a spacious court in front of a glacis.—The whole bears some resemblance to Versailles, which, although imperfect, cannot but be pleasing to a Frenchman. He at first imagines that Philip V. who built St. Ildefonso, wished to have about his person such objects as might recal to his recollection the abode which was so dear to him in his early youth. He seems to have had the same intention in establishing his military household.

Of the old guards of the knights of Spain there remains but one company of halbardiers, which may be compared to that of the hundred Swiss. Philip V. established three companies of body guards, each of two hundred men, modelled, with respect to form and clothing, after those of the French court. Two regiments, which guard the exterior of the castle, that of the Spanish guards, and the regiment of Walloons, are also perfect copies of our regiments of French and Swiss guards. A company is detached from each of them to do duty wherever the court resides.

The command of each of these six military corps which form the interior and exterior guard of the kings of Spain, is given to the most distinguished persons of the nation. The commander of the halbardiers is always a grandee of Spain. The captain of the Spanish company of body guards is one of the most illustrious families. That of the Italian company is generally an Italian nobleman, and the captain of the Flemish corps is either a noble Fleming, or some stranger of rank. The same rule is observed with respect to the Walloons. The captain of the Spanish guards is always chosen from the most distinguished grandees of Spain.

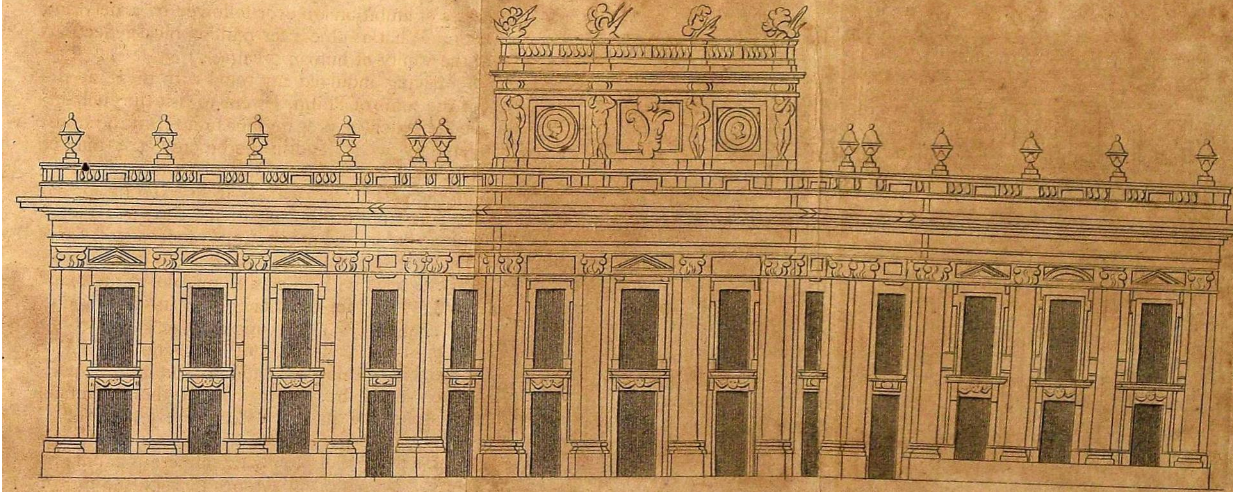
This resemblance to our court, observed at St. Ildefonso, which makes a Frenchman recollect Versailles, is like a diminutive shade in painting, and smooths the passage from one court to the other, so that when arrived at St. Ildefonso, you are tempted to believe that you are but half the distance by which they are separated.

The proofs of the predilection which Philip V. had for this place of royal residence have survived him. His remains are deposited in a chapel within the castle. I visited this mausoleum, which has something awful in its simplicity. The appearance of the tomb which contains an illustrious person, always excites serious reflection. What then must be the

impression made by that of a prince whose reign holds so distinguished a place in modern history, and forms the epocha of the last exploits of Louis XIV. and of his greatest disasters; of a prince for whose interests Europe was agitated by three wars within less than half a century; and whom the conquests of the greatest monarchy in the world could not render happy. At least the gloomy melancholy which obscured the last years of his life, proved that the most brilliant successes of ambition are ever followed by satiety and languor. What a subject for philosophical reflections upon the vanity of human greatness!

After having indulged my mind with these at the foot of the tomb of Philip, I went to visit the enchanting abode which he prepared for himself in the midst of a solitary wood, and in the bosom, as it may be said, of steep mountains. There is nothing magnificent in the palace, particularly in its exterior appearance. The front on the side of the garden is of the Corinthian order, and not destitute of elegance. Here are the king's apartments, which look upon a parterre surrounded with vases and marble statues, and a cascade which, for the richness of its decorations, may be compared with the finest of the kind.

The purity and clearness of the water are indeed incomparable. Philip V. could not, in this respect, be better served by nature. From the mountains which shade the palace, descend several rivulets, which supply the reservoirs. These waters answer the double purpose of supplying numerous fountains, and of diffusing life and verdure through the magnificent gardens, the sight of which alone is a sufficient recompence for a journey into Spain. They are on the inside a league in circumference. The inequality of the ground affords every moment new points of view. The principal allies answer to different summits of neighbouring mountains; and one in particular produces the most agreeable effect. It is terminated at one end by the grand front of the palace.



Cooper sculp.

ROYAL PALACE OF S^T. ILDEFONO.

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From this point are seen at one view, five fountains ornamented with elegant groups, rising into an amphitheatre, above which appear the summits of lofty mountains. The most elevated of these groups is that of Andromeda fastened to a rock. When seen at a little distance it is perhaps defective, because the rock appears too diminitive by the side of the monster which threatens Andromeda; and of Perseus, by whom it is attacked; but the whole contributes to the beauty of the view. The most remarkable of the five groups is that of Neptune.

Genius presided at the composition and in the choice of the situation; the deity of the ocean appears erect, surrounded by his marine court. His attitude, his threatening countenance, and the manner of holding his trident, announces that he has just imposed silence on the mutinous waves; and the calm which reigns in the basin, defended by the triple wall of verdure, by which it is surrounded, seemsto indicate that he has not issued his commands in vain. Often have I seated myself, with Virgil in my hand, by the side of this silent water, under the shade of the verdant foliage, nor ever did I fail to recollect the famous "Quos ego!"

There are other fountains worthy the attention of the curious; such as that of Latona, where the limpid sheaves, some perpendicularly, and others in every direction, fall from the hoarse throats of the Lycian peasants, half transformed into frogs, and spouting them forth in such abundance, that the state of the goddess disappears under the wide mantle of liquid crystal; that also of Diana in the bath, surrounded by her nymphs; in the twinkling of an eye all the chaste court is hidden beneath the waters; the spectator imagines he hears the whistling of aquatic birds, and the roaring of lions from the place whence this momentary deluge escapes by a hundred canals. The fountain of fame is formed by a single jet-d'eau, which rises a hundred and thirty feet, exhibiting to the dis-

tance of several leagues round the triumph of art over nature, and falls in a gentle shower upon the gazing spectators. There are some situations in the gardens of St. Ildefonso, whence the eye takes in the whole of the greater part of these fountains, and where the ear is delighted with the harmony of their murmurs. The traveller who wishes to charm all his senses at once, must take his station on the high flat ground in front of the king's apartment. In the thick part of the foliage are contrived two large arbours, from the top of which are seen twenty crystal columns rising into the air to the height of the surrounding trees, mixing their resplendent whiteness with the verdure of the foliage, uniting their confused noise to the rustling of the branches, and refreshing and embalming the air; if the traveller here experience no pleasing sensations, let him return home, he is utterly incapable of feeling either the beauties of art or nature.

It is possible that the reader may here imagine my enthusiasm too extravagant. He is mistaken; let him follow me to the great reservoir of abundant and limpid waters. He will have to climb for some minutes, but will not regret the trouble he has taken. Let us suppose ourselves arrived at the long and narrow alley which takes up the whole of the upper part of the gardens; proceed to the middle, and turn your face toward the castle. To the vast horizon around you, no other boundaries are discovered but those which limit the human sight; these alone prevent you from discovering the Pyrenees. Observe the steeple which seems but a point in the immense extent: you will perhaps imagine it to be that of the parish church of St. Ildefonso; but, in reality, it is the cathedral of Segovia, at two leagues distance. The gardens through which you have passed, become narrower to the eye. You suppose yourself close to the royal habitation; the alleys, fountains, and parterres have all disappeared; you see but one road which, in the form of

a vessel, upon the prow of which you seem to stand, has its stern at the top of the palace. Afterwards turn and take a view of the little lake behind you, of which the irregular borders do not, like that we call our English gardens, merely ape the disorder of Nature. Nature herself has traced them, except on the side where you stand. This straight walk is united at each end to the curve which surrounds the reservoir. The waters, which stream in abundance from the sides of the mountain in front, meet in this reservoir, and thence descend by a thousand invisible tubes, to other reservoirs, whence they are spouted in columns or sheets upon the flowery soil to which they were strangers. The birds, drawn by their clearness, come to skim and agitate their crystal. The image of the tufted woods which surround them is reflected from their immoveable surface, as is also that of some simple and rural houses, thrown, as if by accident, into this delightful picture, which Lorrain would have imitated, but, perhaps, could not have imagined. The opposite bank is obscured by thick shades. Some hollows, overshadowed by arching trees, seem to be the asylum of the Naiades. Disturb them not by indiscreet loquacity, but silently admire and meditate.

It is impossible, however, not to go to the source of these waters; let us follow the meandering of their course, and observe the winding paths which there terminate, after appearing and disappearing at intervals through the copse. Let us listen to the bubbling of the rivulets, which from time to time escape from our sight, and hasten to the rendezvous assigned them by the descendants of Louis XIV. They formerly lost themselves in the valleys, where they quenched the thirst of the humble inhabitants, but are now consecrated to the pleasure of kings. Ascending the back of the pyramidical mountain, behind which the source is concealed, we arrive at a wall which conceals a part of them in a garden, and which was hidden in the trees: nothing, however, ought here to recal to-

mind, exclusive property and slavery. Woods, waters, and the majestic solitude of mountains, which are at a distance from the tumult of courts and cities, are the property of every man.

At a short distance from this wall, which forms the exterior inclosure of the gardens, is an empty and flat ground, where the infant Don Louis brother to the king, chose a place which he consecrated to cultivation. Farther on the mountain becomes more steep, and is covered with trees to its summit. Let us now return; as we seek amusement and not fatigue. We will follow the course of the waters. They descend in bubbling streams from one level of the gardens to the other. In their course, in one place they water the feet of the trees, in others they cross an alley to nourish more slowly the plants of a parterre. From the basin of Andromeda they run between two rows of trees in the form of a canal, the too sudden inclination of which is taken off by cascades and windings. They receive and carry with them from the gardens the rivulets, which, after having played amongst the gods and nymphs, and moistened the throats of the swans, tritons, and lions, humbly descend under ground, and run on into the bosom of the neighbouring meadows, where they fulfill purposes less brilliant but more useful.

No traveller ought to quit these magnificent gardens without stopping at a place which appears to promise much but produces not any very great effect. This is the square of the eight allies, Plaça de las ocho calles. In the centre is the group of Pandora, the only one which is of whitened stone, all the others are of white marble or lead painted of a bronze colour. Eight alleys answer to this centre, and each is terminated by a fountain. Plats of verdure fill up the intervals between the alleys, and each has an altar under a portico of white marble by the side of a bason sacred to some god or goddess. These eight altars, placed at equal distances and decorated, among other

jets-d'eau, have two which rise in the form of tapers on each side of their divinities. This cold regularity displeased Philip V. who a little before his death, when visiting the gardens, made some severe reproaches to the inventor upon the subject. Philip had not the pleasure of completely enjoying what he had created: death surprized him when the works he had begun were but half finished. The undertaking was however the most expensive one of his reign. The finances of Spain, so deranged under the princes of the house of Austria, thanks to the wise calculations of Orry, to the subsidies of France, and still more to the courageous efforts of the faithful Castilians, would have been sufficient for three long and ruinous wars, and for all the operations of a monarchy which Philip V. had conquered and formed anew, as well as to have resisted the shocks of ambition and political intrigue; but they sunk beneath the expensive efforts of magnificence.

It is singular that the castle and gardens of St. Ildefonso should have cost about forty-five millions of piastres, precisely the sum in which Philip died indebted. This enormous expense will appear credible when it is known that the situation of the royal palace was at the beginning of this century the sloping top of a pile of rocks: that it was necessary to dig and hew out stones, and in several places to level the rock; to cut out of its sides a passage for a hundred different canals, to carry vegetative earth to every place in which it was intended to substitute cultivation for sterility, and to work a mine to clear a passage to the roots of the numerous trees which are there planted. All these efforts were crowned with success. In the orchards, kitchen gardens, and parterres, there are but few flowers, espaliers, or plants which do not thrive; but the trees naturally of a lofty growth, and which consequently must strike their roots deep into the earth, already prove the insufficiency of art when it attempts to struggle against nature. Many of them

languish with withered trunks, and with difficulty keep life in their almost naked branches. Every year it is necessary to call in the aid of gunpowder to make new beds for those that are to supply their place; and none of them are covered with that tufted foliage which belong only to those that grow in a natural soil. In a word, there are in the groves of St. Ildefonso, marble statues, basins, cascades, limpid waters, verdure, and delightful prospects, every thing but that which would be more charming than all the rest, thick shades.

The Spanish court was never more splendid here, than at the time when it was visited by two French princes, the Count d'Artois and the Duc de Bourbon, who, in 1782 repaired to the army besieging Gibraltar.

The court of Spain comes hither annually during the heat of the dog-days. It arrives towards the end of July and returns at the beginning of October. The situation of St. Ildefonso, upon the declivity of the mountains which separate the two Castiles, and fronting a vast plain where there is no obstacle to the passage of the north wind, renders this abode delightful in summer. The mornings and evenings of the hottest days are agreeably cool. Yet as this palace is upwards of twenty leagues from Madrid,* and half the road which leads to it crosses the broad tops of mountains, extremely steep in many places, it is much more agreeable to the lovers of the chace and solitude than to others.

The Count d'Artois was the nephew of Charles III. of Spain, who was at that time the oldest monarch of Europe. His reception of the count shewed that the

* Fourteen Spanish leagues, seventeen and a half to a degree. These fourteen make upwards of twenty of those of France (and above fifty-five English miles). It is a great effort to perform this journey in six hours with mules which are much more swift than our best post-horses.

feelings of nature are not unknown to royal breasts. The ceremonies which were displayed on his arrival were peculiarly gratifying to the visitors, as it was the first interview of the kind that had taken place since the Bourbon dynasty had reigned in Spain. The Count d'Artois, and those who accompanied him, were lodged in the palace. The whole household was at his command; but care was taken that those about his person should, by their manners and language, recal to his mind a faint idea of the court he had quitted. These attentions had no bounds but of the desire of leaving a young prince at full liberty, which is far preferable to all the vain homages of ceremony. Charles III. led a very regular life; some certain employment was assigned by him to every hour of the day; yet nothing was deranged on account of his nephew's arrival. Hunting, fishing, his devotions and his business with the ministers were all continued as usual. The Count d'Artois, on his part, knew how to enjoy the liberty granted him. The Duc de Bourbon, who travelled under the name of Dammartin, did not receive so much attention.

I saw but little of the count, who was wholly employed in the task imposed upon him; but according to every thing I heard, I judged that it could not be better executed, nor the interest of the king better attended to than by this nobleman, seconded as he was with the councils of my benefactor, the Count de Montmorin, at that time our ambassador; but who afterwards perished by the hands of the revolutionary cannibals. We have, however, proved to the Spaniards in his person, that the French also are susceptible of gravity, unaccompanied by pedantry, that they may possess wisdom without austerity, dignity without pride, and prudence without timidity. Treated by the Spanish monarch and all his august family, with the greatest kindness and respect, he conciliated to himself the confidence of the ministers, the

esteem of the great, and the good-will of the people. The national character is somewhat cold, and not too prodigal of the tokens of its benevolence; but persons of merit are therefore the more flattered in receiving them; and I never yet have met with any one who knew the Spaniards intimately, without having conceived for them a strong and lasting esteem. There is no court in Europe where the persons of ambassadors are more generally known. In other courts they are seldom communicated with except upon the affairs with which they are charged. At that of Madrid, they are constantly before the eyes of the monarch, especially the family ambassadors. Every morning as soon as the king returns from hunting, or has finished the business which prevents his taking that diversion every day, he receives those of his ministers who have any thing to communicate to him; these are succeeded by his confessor. After this audience the family ambassadors are introduced; and in these secret conferences, it is said the most delicate affairs are frequently discussed. These ambassadors afterwards join those of other courts, between whom the conversation is generally short.

The king's dinner immediately succeeds, at the end of which the whole corps diplomatique is again introduced. After having appeared at the tables of the princes and princesses, the ambassadors and envoys from foreign courts pass into the cabinet, where the monarch gives them a second audience. These audiences are repeated every day, and at the same hour, a party with some of the grandees who attend on his person, sups in private, and retires early to bed. At ten o'clock the most profound silence reigns in his palace.

This regular system which was adopted by Charles III. the late king, has been followed by Charles IV. though with more simplicity. Yet he has always

been equally fond of hunting, and is much attached to music!*

The magnificence of the court of Spain is more particularly displayed on gala-days. These are of two kinds, the great and lesser galas. The great galas are kept eight times a year, on the birth-days of the king, the prince and princess of Asturias, and of the king and queen of Naples: the lesser ones, which are called demi-galas, are in honour of the other princes and princesses, descendants of Philip V. These only require the courtiers to be dressed a little better than ordinary; but at the grand galas, the greatest luxury of dress is displayed, in which, however, taste does not always preside. Every person in the service of the court, from the grand master to those who hold the most inconsiderable employments, have a uniform suitable to their places, and which they wear on these occasions. In the morning, on these great days, all those who have any connexion with the court, whether by their military service, their titles, or civil functions, the ecclesiastics, and, for the most part, some monks, pass before the king and the royal family, bending one knee and kissing the monarch's hand. This is a species of loyalty and homage, a renewing of the oath of fidelity. But what is more singular, women, of the greatest distinction, kiss not only the hand of the monarch, but that of all his children, whatever may be their age and sex, and the most charming duchess prostrates herself before the youngest infant, even when at the breast, and presses, with her lips, the little hand which mechanically receives or refuses the premature homage.

I must observe, in behalf of Spanish etiquette, that it favours the delicacy of the fair sex. Men kiss hands in public, but the ladies only in the inner apartments.

* The reader will perceive, that Bourgoing is here speaking of the king who has abdicated the throne in favour of his son Ferdinand VII.

None but the ladies who have employment in the palace, kiss the hands of all the royal family. The others, who are received at court, pay this homage to none but the queen and the princess of Asturias. This class is composed of all the female grandees of Spain, and ladies of title; which denomination must not be understood in the sense affixed to it in France. It here becomes necessary to treat of the dignities and titles of the court of Spain.

Princes of the blood, so called, have not hitherto been distinguished as such at this court. Next to the infants and infantas of Spain, and the sons, grandsons, and nephews of the sovereign, immediately come the grandees. These are divided into three classes, differing from each other by such trifling distinctions as are scarcely worth notice. All the grandees of Spain, of whatever class they may be, are covered in presence of the king, and have the title of excellence: in these are comprehended all their prerogatives. There is no place or employment, however distinguished it may be, which is exclusively attached to their rank, if those of grand-master, and grand-equerry be excepted; as also that of Sumiller de corps, which has some relation with the place of grand-chamberlain, and the commission of captain of halberdiers; but there are several others which infallibly lead to the rank of grandee. The band of gentlemen of the chamber, to the number of forty, more or less, at the will of the sovereign, is for the most part composed of grandees; but there are also some persons of quality, who, without the former rank, obtain this dignity. It is true that none of the latter are employed immediately about the person of the sovereign, or the heir to the crown, and that the queen and the princess of Asturias are served by none but grandees: but these of both sexes are indiscriminately taken from the three classes. There are grandees of the most ancient and illustrious extraction of the two inferior classes, and who do not esteem themselves the less on that account.

The queen is waited upon by Camoristas, who are young ladies of distingushed families, but poor.

Philip V. who conferred many titles of grandee, created not one either of the second or third class. Ferdinand VI. imitated his example; but Charles III. has revived a distinction almost imaginary, which was nearly obliterated; and in the last promotions, created several grandees of the second class. They do not all enjoy the privilege of being covered in the royal presence, except when they are received for the first time, and when they accompany his majesty at any ceremony. This honour does not, however, belong to them exclusively; they enjoy it in common with the nuncio, the family ambassadors, and some generals of orders, who also have the title of excellence, and as long as their dignity continues, are associated with the real grandees.

Besides the titles of grandee, which are hereditary, there are others that become extinct at the death of the possessor. Some persons obtain the honours only of grandee, and transmit them to their descendants. He who enjoys them bears the title of excellence, but is not covered in the presence of the king. A more marked distinction in the different classes of grandee, and which is not founded upon law, but upon custom, and still more tyrannical, is that which the grandees of ancient families establish between themselves and those of more modern or less illustrious extraction. The first speak to each other in the singular number, on all occasions, and whatever may be the difference in their ages, or the places they hold. I have more than once heard young grandees, who scarcely had the rank of colonel, speak in this manner to the minister for war, whom they look upon as their equal in point of birth. But when they converse or correspond with grandees, whose extraction appears to them to be unequal to their own, they ceremoniously, give and receive the title of excellence. The latter frequently suffer in secret by

this mortifying homage; so ingenious is vanity in every country, in creating itself enjoyments, and even torments, and in converting vain chimeras into realities, which have an influence upon happiness. The new grandees solicit the honour of speaking to each other in the singular number, as they would do the favour of the sovereign. But the refusal they meet with is the more mortifying, as this mark of equality and familiarity is sometimes granted by the most distinguished grandees to branches of some illustrious houses who have not yet obtained the title, and who, thinking they have well-founded pretensions to such an honour, are distinguished by the name of casas agraviadas, injured families.

On the other hand, the sovereign and his family address all the natives who approach them with the pronoun thou, which is a benevolent condescension that makes them all equal.

The title of grandee, when hereditary, is so in males and females, unless the patent formally express the contrary. There are many houses in Spain, that, by marriages with heiresses to this title, have ten or twelve hats, which is the vulgar term to denote the dignity of grandee of Spain. Yet this accumulation is an imaginary advantage, which adds nothing to the dignity of him by whom it is enjoyed: and although he may have children, he has not even the power of distributing the hats among them. The right of primogeniture to the title of grandee is established in every family enjoying that hereditary rank. There are but few in which the second son has a title and a grandeeship in his own right. All the eldest sons of grandees receive, by anticipation, the title of excellence, but their brothers have it not, nor that of count or marquis: they bear the name of their family, preceded by that they receive in baptism. This resembles the etiquette in England, where the brother of the Earl of Chatham is called William Pitt, and the brother of Lord Holland, simply Charles Fox.

This distinction must not be lost sight of by a stranger, who does not wish to be deceived by the vain words count and marquis, and by them to appreciate the rank of persons. There are many grandees of Spain who have no other title. There is no mark of extraordinary distinction in that of duke. It is given according to the pleasure of the sovereign, when he confers the title of grandee, on which account the patent is a little more expensive. But all those who are honoured with the title of count or marquis are not grandees. Most of them are no more than what are called titulos, or titles of Castile. These titles prove not an illustrious race, but the favour of the sovereign, commonly merited by some particular and important service, either in a military or civil capacity. The king generally grants to him whom he thus honours, the liberty of applying his title to one of his estates; and sometimes adds a denomination which denotes the service he wishes to recompence. Thus was it that under Philip V. the admiral Navarro, who commanded the Spanish squadron at the battle of Toulon, received the title of Marquis de la Vittoria; he who in 1759 escorted Charles III. from Naples to Barcelona, that of Marquis del Real Transporte; and more recently, the minister of the Indies; Don Joseph de Galvez, whose long services Charles III. wished to reward by one of these titles, took that of Marquis de la Sonora, from the name of a colony, which his zeal and talents had acquired to his country, by peopling and improving it, and by freeing the whole settlement from the incursions of the savages.

The title of prince was till lately unknown, except as the exclusive appellation of the heir to the throne. The Duke of Alcadia, who brought about the treaty of peace with the French Republic, was the first subject on whom the king conferred that dignity: he was created Prince of Peace. I am, however, at a loss to decide whether the exception in his behalf was

made in consequence of the estimation of his services, or whether he obtained the title through the excessive degree of favour which he enjoyed, in defiance of established custom!

These titles of Castile give to those who bear them, and to their wives, the qualification of lordship, Vuestra Senoria. The refusal of this, in matters of ceremony, carries with it a mortification; but the greater part are too reasonable to require or even suffer it from their equals in the ordinary intercourse of society; though their inferiors bestow this honour upon them very lavishly. There are every where flatterers, as well as persons who love to be flattered. But those who are more particularly exact in rendering them their due in this respect, are such as have a right to the title of excellence in return, and who love their own ears should be tickled with a sound so pleasing.

There is a title between this and lordship; that of Ussia Illustrissima (most illustrious lordship) which is given to archbishops, bishops, and great magistrates.

The dignity of grandee, as well as the titles of marquis and counts of Castile are not only unaccompanied with any pecuniary advantage, but are not even bestowed gratis. Those who obtain them, immediately pay a duty which has been received ever since the reign of Charles V. known by the appellation of Demi-Annates.*

The grandees pay about twenty thousand livres, (833*l.*) which by the fees of the chancery are increased to twenty-five thousand (1040*l.*) This duty is paid as often as the title descends, and is more or less according to the greater or lesser distance between him who inherits it, and the person from whom it is derived. Besides the duty on taking up

* The king sometimes remits this duty. The count d'Estaing received from the Spanish monarch this additional favour, on obtaining the rank of grandee.

the title, the grandees annually pay another under the name of Lanzas. This is the remains and faint image of the military service, which the great vassals of the crown formerly performed, by furnishing a certain number of spears. As foreigners, who are grandees of Spain, cannot be subjected to this species of servitude, it appears equally conformable to reason and custom that they should not pay the duty of lanzas.

According to an arrangement mutually agreed to between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, when the same family was in possession of the two thrones, the grandees of Spain were to rank with the dukes and peers of France. This acknowledgment of equality was not obtained without much opposition on the part of the former. When the question was agitated at the beginning of the reign of Philip V. the duke of Arcos, in the name of all the grandees, remonstrated against it to that monarch in the strongest terms. He asserted, that the grandees could not but be greatly surprized and offended at finding themselves considered as on a level with the peers of France. At their own court, said the duke, the grandees see no one between them and the throne but the sons of their sovereign, whilst the peers of France must give place, first to the princes of the blood, next to the legitimated princes, and lastly even to foreign ones, not only to those of Italy and Germany, but also to those who, although descended from royal families, hold places in the service of the king of France, such as the dukes of Loraine, de Bouillon, and others. The duke endeavoured to prove by many facts, that the grandees in Spain constituted the first order of subjects immediately after the royal family; and that most of them were in possession of privileges, as descending from royal ancestors, either in the male line, as the dukes of Medina Celi, descended from the infants de la Carda, or in the female, or even from bastards. He gave

instances of kings of Spain, and even of emperors, who had treated them as equals with the princes of Italy and Germany, and proved that the grandees had always enjoyed the same honours as the princes descended from sovereigns, when they were not royal; that when the courts of France and Spain had named rspresentatives, those of France were princes of the blood, and those of Spain grandees; without the least difference being made in the respect and honours paid to each. From all these proofs the duke concluded, that the dignity of grandee of Spain corresponded with that of the princes of the blood in France, and not with that of the peers.

These arguments were certainly plausible, but they were ill-received by Philip, who had contracted at the court of his grandfather a taste for despotism. The answer he returned to the duke was, that he would do well to go and signalize his zeal with the army in Flanders. This order was obeyed, and the duke, when on his return through Paris, was the first who desisted from the pretensions of which he had been the advocate. He made the first visit to the princes of the blood, gave them the title of highness without receiving the same, and addressed the dukes and peers by the title of excellence without requiring a return; thus the cause of the grandees was lost for ever. Their number rapidly increased; their dignity was granted to several foreign noblemen; and, as all things are diminished in value by being multiplied, the grandees have become accustomed, by degrees, to see themselves, without any great mortification, considered as on a level with the dukes and peers of France. A situation which applies as well to them at present as it did in the time of the late French monarchy. We are not to suppose, however, that the grandees of Spain, who derive their dignity from the reign of Charles V. do not think themselves superior to others, as in Germany the princes of ancient families believe they are to those

who were created by Ferdinand and his successors; but this difference so flattering in secret to vanity, vanishes from before the eyes of the nation, and especially from those of the sovereign.

These grandees may, indeed, entertain a very high opinion of their own dignity and illustrious birth, but in other respects they are extremely affable and obliging. They are far from possessing that sullen pride attributed to them by European prejudices. Many of them are as remarkable for a gentleness of manners and goodness of heart, as the great in other courts for a haughty and forbidding dignity. It is not that they do not possess that which might be, if not a motive, at least an excuse for the assuming airs of pride; high employments, illustrious birth, and immense fortunes. Indeed, with respect to the latter, they are superior to those of the most opulent at the court of France.

Except the princes of the blood, there were no fortunes at the late French court, to be compared to those of the duke of Medina Celi, the duke of Alba, the marquis of Penafiel, the count of Altamira, or the duke of Infantado. It must, however, be confessed, that their external appearance does not correspond to their fortune. They do not ruin themselves as in France, in large and numerous houses, and splendid entertainments. All these species of ostentation are in Spain yet in their infancy: theirs is more obscure, but perhaps not less expensive. Numerous sets of mules, rich liveries which are displayed but three or four times a year, and a multitude of servants are their great articles of expense. Yet the ill management of their estates into which they seldom or never examine, considerably diminishes their income. They have stewards, treasurers, and various officers, like those of petty sovereigns. They keep in their pay, not only the servants grown old in their service, but those even of their fathers, and the families whence they inherit, and even pro-

vide for the subsistence of their children and relations. I was assured that the duke of Arcos, who died in 1780, maintained three thousand persons. This magnificence, which disguises itself under the veil of charity, appears to have more than one inconvenience; it encourages idleness and causes mismanagement and extravagance, which, while dependents are thus multiplied, must escape the most careful vigilance. Notwithstanding all this, there are fewer great families go to decay and ruin in Spain than in most other countries. The simplicity of their manners, their little taste for ostentation, and repugnance to ruinous arts, which, in other kingdoms, are found so seducing, conspire to preserve the estates of the Spanish nobility; but whenever the grandees of Spain shall choose to imitate the example of those of other courts, their splendour will be equal to that of the most brilliant. This may be judged of by the appearance which some of them have made in foreign countries, when the dignity of their nation required a display of magnificence. They have hitherto indeed but little sought the paths which led to the gratification of ambition. At the beginning of the last century, when they were divided between the two princes who aspired to the throne, when once their passions were roused, they made efforts and displayed talents, which were not always employed in the best cause, but which proved that the latter reigns of the princes of the house of Austria had not benumbed their faculties. A kind of supineness, which continued half a century, succeeded to this fermentation; but in the late reign they shook it off, and proved that the most distinguished subjects in a nation are not always the most useless. They embraced with eagerness the profession of arms, which in fact offers them but few temptations, and which in Spain is more subject to courtiers than in France.

The body of the grandees furnishes at present but few members of the church, which in Spain has not

so many attractions for the vanity of great families as in other catholic kingdoms of Europe; but the few individuals of this class who have devoted themselves to the sacred duties, without regard to worldly considerations, are exemplary for their learning and piety. The only dignity with which they at present are invested, is that of patriarch of the Indies, who at the court of Spain perform the functions of grand almoner. This is not merely a place of ceremony; he who holds it is constantly in waiting near the person of the sovereign. No other grandees, except those in actual service are near the monarch: these are the grand-master of his household, his grand equerry, his Sumiller de corps, his first equerry, two gentlemen of the chamber, the captain of the guards in quarter, and he who attends the prince of Asturias, his Sumiller de corps, and four gentlemen of the chamber, who in turns serve him by two and two. The late prince and the princess of Asturias, now the king and queen, have each their grand-master and grand equerry; which great officers constantly reside near the persons of their highnesses. All the other grandees have their fixed residence at Madrid, whence they are but momentarily absent to make their court. Some, though but few, almost constantly reside in the capitals of the provinces; but I know none who habitually reside on their estates, which they dignify with the pompous title of states; and which, from their extent and the privileges annexed to them, are not altogether unworthy of the appellation.

The dignity of grandee is not announced by any exterior insignia. Those who are gentlemen of the chamber wear a golden key. There are besides the order of Malta, six orders of knighthood in Spain; but not one to which the grandees have an exclusive right. The most distinguished is the order of the golden fleece, founded by Philip the Good, Duke of

Burgundy, and which the court of Vienna continues to confer in concurrence with that of Madrid, although the former had renounced this prerogative, by the treaty which terminated the great quarrel between Philip V. and the Archduke. The number of knights of the golden fleece is very limited in Spain, and this is the order which has best preserved its ancient splendour of any in Europe.

There are also four military orders, which were founded at the time of the crusades; and since the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, the king has been grand master of them all. They are those of Santiago, Calatrava, Monteza, and Alcantara. The three first are distinguished by a red ribbon, and the last by a green one. These four orders have commanderies, which are conferred by the king. They were for a long time given to every class of persons, provided they could bring the requisite proofs. Charles III. recalled them to the spirit of their first institution, and prescribed to himself an irrevocable law to bestow them on none but military men. An honourable distinction for the rest of the subjects was therefore wanting, which he supplied in 1771, by creating a fifth order, which bears his name, and is dedicated to the conception of the virgin. It is composed of two classes: that of the great crosses, and simple knights. The great crosses wear the ribbon of the order, sky blue, edged with white. On days of ceremony they are clothed in a large mantle with these two colours, and wear a collar, upon which are alternatively displayed the arms of Castile and the king's arms.

The four orders first mentioned, have commanderies of the following value. Santiago has eighty-seven, the largest of which produces a revenue of about 200,000 reals. Calatrava has fifty-five, one of which produces 358,000 reals. Monteza has only thirteen, and Alcantara thirty-seven. The value of

the last two is therefore much inferior to that of the others.

The number of the great crosses ought to be limited to sixty. When the order was first established the members were chosen from among the grandees, except two of the great officers, one of which was the archbishop of Toledo, and the other the Patriarch of the Indies. A short time afterwards the king made an exception to this rule, in favour of his marine minister, the Marquis of Castejon. This exception was afterwards extended; though the order was still confined to the most eminent personages of the kingdom, such as the ministers and some general officers, distinguished either by their zeal or services.

The simple knights were two hundred in number, each enjoying a pension of 4000 reals (about forty pounds). A few years since the king bestowed this lesser order upon some persons in France, who are not reckoned in the original number. In their favour he has departed from the statute which rendered this order incompatible with all others, by permitting it to be associated with the cross of St. Louis.

It is necessary to produce proofs of nobility to obtain this latter order, as well as the four military ones; this I must believe, because I have been assured of it by several people of veracity, otherwise I should have had my doubts of its truth, or have imagined at least that there were several means of eluding the law.

The female sex also has some dignities. In 1792 the queen obtained the institution of an order called that of Maria Louisa (her own name), which she granted to sixty ladies, mostly the wives of grandees. In her first choice she was actuated merely by partiality. At present the order consists of a hundred ladies, including some princesses.

It is true, that nobility in most of the provinces of Spain is not difficult to establish. It is sufficient, that he who aspires to that distinction proves himself and

his ancestors to have lived nobly, without having exercised any of the professions, few in number, which law and prejudice declare to be vile; he is then reputed a gentleman by descent, hidalgo; for in Spain, nobility by creation is unknown. Some humorists have observed, that there are whole provinces of which all the inhabitants are gentlemen: nor is this any great exaggeration.

Philip V. ennobled all the Biscayans. All the Asturians are believed to be descended from the ancient Goths, who took refuge in the mountains of Asturia, and are reputed noble on account of this honourable origin. But there cannot be a more glaring absurdity than to imagine that two or three hundred thousand men, who settled some centuries ago in a small province, were all noble. If all men measure five feet six inches, the words giant and dwarf would be obliterated from the dictionary. Nobility necessarily supposes a more numerous class, who are ignoble. Thus, in fact, there are in Biscay and Asturia, as in other parts of Europe, distinguished families, in the opinion of the public, who have made a great figure in the district in which they reside, either by their opulence, or the places they have held; and whatever may be the pretensions of obscure neighbouring families, the former affect a pre-eminence, which these acknowledge by their homage: this, however, does not prevent the latter from cherishing ideas of grandeur, which preserves in their minds a nobleness undoubtedly preferable to the chimerical nobility of blood: so that if by chance they arrive at some employment less obscure than their birth, they think they have only regained their proper place, and are less insolent and vain than most upstarts in other countries. I have more than once remarked this distinguishing characteristic, even in the lowest ranks of the Asturians and Biscayans. They have, in their appearance, something more haughty, and are much less humble in their homages. They are not awed

either by titles or riches. A man in place is in their eyes a fortunate man, who has won in their royal lottery, in which they have all a ticket, and may win in their turn; and this prejudice, ridiculous as it may seem, keeps them on their guard against meanness, and even against degrading crimes. This reflection is more or less applicable to all the other provinces of Spain.

Notwithstanding those imperceptible gradations, which in Spain separate the nobility from the inferior ranks, the proofs required, in certain cases, are closely examined: but there, as well as in other countries, money and interest procure genealogists not over scrupulous. A reflection, applicable to every nation, may be made with respect to the nobility of Spain, which is, that the less a monarch is limited, the more arbitrary are these distinctions, and the more irregular the gradations. Despots, even those the least tyrannical, prefer or neglect their subjects, according to their caprices. Unlimited monarchies more or less approach this uncertainty; and there are few in which the sovereign authority is more absolute than in Spain. Under the ancient form of government it was more confined; but it changed by degrees, and without commotion. The intermediate ranks scarcely exist in name.

The supreme councils, however, of which that of Castile is the principle, have often attempted to present the remonstrances against measures which they conceived to be injurious and contrary to the laws; but as all their members are appointed by the king, and can be removed by him, their interference is, as may be supposed, of small importance.

The Cortes have long been considered as the only fence capable of restraining the eruptions of despotism. The history of Spain sufficiently proves how great an influence the Cortes had in the most important affairs of government, in war, peace, and the levying of taxes. These, however, for a long time

past, have not been assembled, except for the sake of form, and the sovereigns, without violence, without formally rejecting their intervention, have found means to elude their authority. They promulgate from the throne ordinances under the name of pragmatiques, the preambles of which give us to understand, that they claim the same authority as if they had been published in the assembly of the Cortes. These are, however, never convoked except at the accession of a new sovereign to the throne, and to swear to him fidelity. On this occasion, letters of convocation are sent to all the grandees, to all persons bearing titles of Castile, to all the prelates, and to every city which has a right to send deputies to the Cortes. The two first classes represent the nobility, the priests sit in the name of the clergy, and the cities which depute one of their magistrates, represent the people. Except on these occasions, of which there have been but two examples in the last century, the Cortes of the whole kingdom have not been assembled since 1713, when Philip V. convoked them to give their approbation to the pragmatic sanction, which changed the order of succession to the throne.

Their last meeting was in 1789, on the occasion of crowning Charles IV. when they sat three months, and had the Count of Campomanes for their president, who was afterwards made governor of the council of Castile.

The Cortes are still consulted, for the sake of form, in certain cases; but then the members of which they are composed correspond with each other, without assembling. A faint idea of them, however, remains in an assembly, which constantly reside at Madrid, and under the name of Diputados de los Reynos (deputies of the kingdom). At their breaking up in 1713, it was regulated, that they should be represented by a permanent committee, whose office it should be to watch over the administration of that part of the taxes, known by the name of

Millones, and which had been granted under Philip II. with the formal consent of the Cortes, upon certain conditions, which the monarch swore to observe. They retained the administration of these imposts until the year 1718, when Cardinal Alberoni, whose ardent and imperious genius was irritated at such shackles, transferred it to the hands of the sovereign. From that time the assembly of deputies of the kingdoms, held no more of the state revenues than the portion necessary to pay the salaries and defray the expenses of the members. These are eight in number, and the manner of choosing them will shortly be explained, at present their power has dwindled almost to nothing: they being only consulted on such trivial occasions as the naturalizing of a foreigner, &c.

It will be proper to observe, that the division of Spain into kingdoms and provinces, as described in maps and geographical treatises, has scarcely any place in fact. The government knows but one division, the provinces of the crown of Castile, and those of the crown of Arragon. These two parts of the monarchy differ from each other with respect to the administration, form, and collection of taxes; a distinction which had its origin at the time when Castile and Arragon were united by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic, and which since that time has undergone but few alterations. The crown of Arragon possessed only Arragon, properly so called, Catalonia, the kingdom of Valencia, and that of Majorca, composed of the ancient Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica. The crown of Castile possessed the rest of the Spanish monarchy. The deputies of the kingdoms are chosen according to this division. All the provinces of Castile unite to name six; Catalonia and Majorca one; and the regencies of Valencia and Arragon elect the eighth. These deputies sit but for six years, at the end of which a new nomination takes place in the same

manner. As a relict of their ancient rights, they still retain the privilege of being, by virtue of their places, members of the council of finance, by which the sovereign communicates to the nation the necessity of levying any new tax; and the approbation they are supposed to give to the royal resolution is a shadow of the consent of the Cortes, without which taxes could not formerly be either levied or augmented. But it is easy to perceive how feeble this rampart of liberty must be, which is only formed of a small number of citizens, who possess but little real power, are under the controul of a government from which they expect favours and preferments, and who, after all, represent only the people, the most numerous, but the least respected part of the nation.

The provinces of Biscay and Navarre, which have assemblies and particular privileges, send also, on some occasions, deputies to the throne, but they do not make a part of the body of the deputies of the kingdom, and their constituents fix at pleasure the object and duration of their temporary mission.

From this sketch it is evident how little the sovereign authority is limited in Spain. The will of the monarch is also carried into execution by several permanent bodies, under the name of councils, who are the interpreters and keepers of the laws, and of which we shall speak more particularly after having conducted the reader to Madrid.

Before we quit the residence of the sovereign, it will be proper to say something further concerning ministers who are constantly near his person: and with whom he used to share the weight of royalty. Their authority was formerly counter-balanced by the council of state, which was consulted on all important occasions; which still subsists and forms the most distinguished body in the monarchy; but which, since the administration of Cardinal Alberoni, has not been permitted to assemble or exercise its functions. The place of councillor is now only honorary,

with a considerable salary annexed to it, and furnishes the sovereign with the means of rewarding those of his subjects who have deserved well of the state, by the most distinguished employments. The various offices of administration generally lead to this appointment at the end of a few years, and formerly the ministers had not the title of excellency until they were thus promoted. But at the nomination of M. de Valdez to the marine department, the king ordained that from that time all his ministers should bear that title, even before they became councillors of state.

As there are still important cases in which the sovereign, modest enough to distrust his own discernment, wishes to receive the advice of those whom he honours with his confidence, he supplies the want of the assemblies of the councillors of state, by uniting his ministers in a committee.

At present what is called the council of state, is composed of thirty-seven members, of whom twelve have been sent away from Madrid for various causes.

Eleven other distinguished individuals, who are generally absent, so as not to take a part in the deliberations of the council, have the title of "their honours," which reduces them almost to a level with the qualification of "excellency."

The administration of the kingdom is divided into six principal departments, which have long been managed by six ministers, &c.

1. The minister of foreign affairs, who is in many respects the directing minister, and receives, as a mark of distinction, the title of secretary of state.

2. The minister of war has but a circumscribed authority. He is president of the council of war, which is rather a tribunal than a board of administration; but the inspectors of the infantry, and those of the cavalry, dragoons, and provincial regiments, draw up a statement of whatever relates to the corps of which they have the direction, and the minister at

war has only to present the memorials they give in to the king.

3. The marine minister, who has no associates. The chiefs of the three departments, and the inspectors of the marine are named by the king, on the representation of the minister; the marine ordinances prepared by him alone require only the sanction of the sovereign.

4. The minister of finances, who should properly be under the inspection of the superintendant-general of that department; but these two offices were some time since united, and will probably be so continued; the separation of them would multiply without necessity the springs of government, and the interests of the state require they should be simplified as much as permanent forms, those sacred bulwarks of justice and property, will admit. Besides, when the sovereign believes he has found in a subject the capacity and integrity required for the administration of his finances, why should he put over him other inspectors than his own conscience, and the zealous wish to justify so flattering a choice? The animadversion of a censor could, in such a case, produce nothing but divisions and mistrust, which would operate to the disadvantage of the service. The event has justified these reflections, in the persons of three ministers, who governed the finances of Charles III. These ministers were, besides, by their office, presidents of the council of finance.

5. The minister of the Indies, who has the most extensive department in all the monarchy, for in him is centered the civil, military, ecclesiastical, and financial government of Spanish America, and it may be said, that in the whole political world there is no minister whose department comprehends so many different objects. Had Augustus committed to one single minister the government of the whole Roman empire, his power would only have extended to a small part of modern Europe, the coasts of Africa,

and some provinces of Asia; for the Roman empire at the time it was most extensive, was not to be compared to that immense country, which, from the north of California, stretches to the streights of Magellan, and forms the dominions of the Spanish monarch in America, and the department of the minister of the Indies. Within these few years, however, the duties of the president of the council have been joined with that of minister of the Indies.

6. The minister of favour and justice. He has his department in the judiciary and ecclesiastical affairs; but his authority is circumscribed by the great chamber (Camara) of the council of Castile, of which we shall treat in another place; and with repect to the nomination to benefices by the intervention of the king's confessor. The latter, however, is not constitutional, but depends upon the will of the monarch, and the confidence with which he honours the director of his conscience.

The minister of justice has always comprized, in his department, whatever relates to the magistracy and ecclesiastical affairs. But since there has been no minister for the Indies alone, the minister of justice is empowered to attend to all the objects that relate to Spanish America. Hence, as late as 1796, there were only five political ministers in Spain, That of foreign affairs was held by Don Manuel Godoy, who was created Duke of Alcudia in 1792, and who, on putting an end to the war with France, received the title of Prince of the Peace! This man I have seen in very critical situations, and I shall neither be his censor, nor his apologist. There is scarcely any example in history of an individual rising so rapidly to fortune and dignity. Born a mere gentleman in Estremadura, with a very small patrimony, he has risen to the rank of one of the first lords of the Spanish monarchy, and is in consequence overloaded with dignities; in addition to which he has the title of Prince, which was never before conferred upon any noble-

man of Spanish origin. But nature has joined with fortune in giving him every qualification to advance him to the pinnacle of greatness, while his talents are so striking, that the slightest intercourse with him is sufficient to shew how capable he is of the important duties with which he is invested.

Of the various changes which have taken place in the different departments since my first visit to Spain, I shall only notice that of the ministry of marine, which, a few years ago, was given to Don Juan de Langara, who, notwithstanding the defeat he experienced in 1780, had acquired general esteem, from his talents and loyalty. He, however, soon retired, and the situation was bestowed, *ad interim*, upon Don Joseph Antonio Caballero; but at the beginning of 1802, Admiral Grandellana was appointed to this branch of the ministry; and, in 1805, he yielded the place to Don Francisco de Lemos, who has acquired a name by his former exertions in war.

The ministry of the war department, after the death of Larena, was confided to the Count of Campo Alange, who kept it till the conclusion of the peace with France, when he was appointed ambassador to Vienna, and afterwards to Portugal; he was succeeded by Don Miguel Joseph de Asanza, who again made way for Don Juan Manuel Alvarez, uncle of the Prince of Peace, in consequence of his being appointed Viceroy of Mexico! Yet a sort of fatality withdrew him from this new destination, and he was lastly made a member of the council of state.

In 1792, the minister of favour and justice was Don Pedro d'Acunha, but it was afterwards filled by Don Eugenio de Llaguno; yet he did not long hold this new dignity, for the place being prematurely confided to the new Duke of Alcudia, he enjoyed his *otium cum dignitate* in the council of state, and soon afterwards took his leave of the world.

His immediate successor was one of the most enlightened Spaniards that I ever met with: he was

Don Gaspar Melchior de Jovellanos! one of those whom, at the end of my second edition, I pointed out as men of merit, who languished in obscurity.* He was again replaced, by Don Caballero; and at the beginning of 1805, the following were the principal ministers of the Spanish monarchy: Don Cevallos, for foreign affairs; Don Soler, for the finances; Don Caballero, for justice and war; and Don Lemos, for the marine.

The stability of ministers was, under Charles III, one of the most remarkable particularities of the court of Spain. That monarch, who in disposing of eminent places, consulted public opinion, had the rare happiness of never having his approbation dishonoured by the event; for which reason his ministers, without abandoning themselves to indolence, which this security might naturally produce, ardently laboured to justify his confidence, and lose not that time which to them is so precious, in watching the latent springs of intrigue, and the disconcerting its secret machinations. In the reign of Charles IV. the system seems to have been exactly reversed, for in 1792 there were no less than three changes in the administration, when the principal places where given to persons whose characters and opinions were diametrically opposite. The Spanish ministers, more than any others, can devote themselves to their duties, without interruption. Nothing diverts them from their principal object. Pleasures do not abound at the Spanish court; there are no theatrical representations of any kind; the amusement of the sovereign and the princes is confined to the chace. This is a great inconvenience to the idlers about the court, but very advantageous

* Our readers will recollect that Jovellanos was one of the principal grandees who was forced to accompany Joseph Buonaparte to Bayonne; and who afterwards escaped from Madrid, and declared in favour of the Patriots! Ed.

to public affairs. Ministers may there dedicate their whole time to their business, and give frequent audiences. I have often greatly admired the simple and regular life they lead; walking is almost the only amusement they permit themselves. Nothing less than the esteem of the nation and the love of public good can recompense them for so entirely renouncing the greater part of the pleasures of life. I never was intimate with any of them, but according to what I have heard, they feel no regret at the self-denial which their situations require. Their principal society consists of their clerks, who habitually eat at their table. This reciprocal constraint has some particular inconveniences, but there results from it a greater union between the heads and the subalterns, and more unanimity in the conduct of affairs. Those who dispatch them under the eye of the minister are not, in fact, merely clerks; they may rather be compared to the principals of our officers. To be appointed to these places, it is necessary to have given proofs of talents in some confidential employment. There are undoubtedly abuses in the public offices of the court of Spain as well as in all others; orders are there eluded, and perhaps traitorously divulged as in other countries; but in general, corruption is very rare, and persons in office are polite and obliging; this is the unanimous opinion of those who have had any connections or business with them.

The residence of the Spanish court, as has lately been observed, affords few resources for real pleasure. There are no more amusements for the royal family than for their ministers; nor are there any public assemblies, except on court days. It may therefore reasonably be supposed, that with the few means of recreation which the court presents, it consists only of those who are confined there by their places. At St. Ildefonso it is almost deserted, so that the royal personages are for the most part reduced to the society of those whose services require their attendance.

The queen, while she was princess of Asturias, before she ascended the throne, passed most of her time in private, where she had few other pleasures than those of music and conversation. The king, her husband, has a taste for music and most of the fine arts; he patronizes that of painting in particular, and not satisfied with the master-pieces with which the palace of his father is furnished, he made, while prince, a collection of the best paintings of different schools, in which he was assisted by two of his valets de chambres, one a Frenchman, the other an Italian. Some years ago, on the vague expression of a wish, which was taken notice of by one of them, Louis XVI. sent him two fine paintings by Vernet. He afterwards became so partial to the productions of the pencil of that master, that in the Escurial there is a little cabinet, of which all the pannels are finished by the hand of this great painter.

The apartments of the palace, of St. Ildefonso, are literally covered with paintings. Those of the first royal anti-chamber are flattering to a French observer; he there passes in review, as in an historical gallery, first, an elegant portrait of Louis XIV. by Rigaud; and next that of Louis XV. when a child; those of the regent, the duke of Vendome, the last duke of Parma, of the house of Farnese and his duchess, as also those of Charles III. when he went to take possession of the kingdom of Naples, and Philip V. on his arrival in Spain; the latter of which made a great impression on me as well as many other persons, by its mild and noble countenance. It is rather surprizing, that this portrait should be placed near that of the archduke. It might be imagined, by this singular union, that at the termination of the quarrel of these two princes, the archduke had sent to his fortunate rival, his portrait, as a pledge of their reconciliation, and that it was placed in a palace, in which the duke, whose likeness it was, had conceived the hope of ascending the throne. The cham-

ber adjoining is that in which the king dines. It has a view of one of the finest cascades in the garden, which is surrounded by double walls of verdure. The nearest trees shade the balcony, and their shadows gently wave on the pannels within. This room is also decorated with several paintings, among which are some by Murillo and Solimena. I shall not enumerate all those in the adjoining apartments, but shall only observe, that according to connoisseurs there is a fine one of St. Sebastian, by Guido; an excellent copy of a Magdalen by the same master; and a Flemish family, by Rubens, in which we see the strongest expression. There is also a picture by Poussin, but it is placed so high that I could not distinguish the subject; two heads by Mengs, a small piece by Amiconi, in which three beautiful angels of rather two faint a white, hold the sacred winding sheet unfolded; the portraits of the princes of Condé, and M. de Turenne, upon the same canvas, by Vandyck; with several other pieces of a smaller size, to be seen in the king's cabinet. There are also a considerable number in the apartments of the prince of Asturias. Among others are three of larger dimensions in their dining-room, which represent the three principal periods of the life of Job. In that which belonged to Maria-Josepha, is a Roman charity, so striking as to excite universal admiration; the colouring is highly finished, and in the heads there is a nobleness and propriety which inspires equal admiration and respect. In the drawing-room of the princess, there is one painting, singular from its extraordinary size, and the number of figures it contains. By their strange dresses, so little resembling those of the age, the artist may be supposed a Fleming. It represents all the various circumstances of the repast, at which Herod, to please his daughter, ordered John the Baptist to be beheaded. It is natural to imagine that the painter intended by this allegory to perpetuate a remembrance of the death of

the unfortunate Don Carlos; this is one of those old traditions which time has rendered sacred, and of which the age and origin are equally unknown. I shall not farther enlarge this long list, which will convey no information to connoisseurs, and is insufficient for those who do not pretend to it. Those of my readers who wish for a more complete one may consult two journeys into Spain, one by Mr. Twiss, and the other by Mr. Swinburn.

Let us now descend to the gallery, which occupies all the front on the side towards the gardens. Here are also some paintings, and among others, two good copies, one from Raphael, the other from Giulio Romano, and two or three pretty heads in Mosaic; but what is most valuable is a considerable number of antiques, most of which were purchased in Italy by Philip V, and formerly made a part of the cabinet of queen Christina. Those which most engaged my attention were a cylindrical altar, on which the procession of Silenus is sculptured in bas-relief; a colossal Cleopatra; a statue of Jupiter wielding his thunder; several Venuses of the size of the human figure; eight Muses a little mutilated, in which modern and unskilful hands have endeavoured to repair the injuries of time; and of which the drapery is remarkable for its lightness; two groups which are banished to a corner, as if they were ashamed to retrace the unimproving fictions of mythology; two of the adulterous amours of Jupiter, in the pious abodes of catholic kings, a Leda and a Ganymede, who caress without suspicion the immodest birds, whose resemblance the god had assumed; and a small figure of Seneca, seated and wrapped in his mantle. But the antique sculptures which more particularly merit the attention of connoisseurs, and the sight of which alone is sufficient to recompense the fatigues of a journey to Spain, are the young fawn carrying a kid, and the groupe of Castor and Pollux, two original master-pieces of antiquity in perfect preservation, co-

pies of which, in marble, stone, and plaister are every where found by the side of those of the Venus de Medicis, the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvidere, and the Farnesian Hercules.

In an apartment in the gallery the finest marbles of Spain, in columns, vases, and busts, seem to vie with the productions transmitted to us from antiquity; yet notwithstanding the excellence of those modern performances they only serve to render the superiority of the venerable remains of antiquity still more apparent. A small corridor, adjoining to the gallery, contains in piles every thing for which no place could be found in the latter, Egyptian statues, fragments of columns, bas-reliefs, busts, and other antiques, consigned to dust, destructive insects, and whatever anticipates the ravages of time. It is to be regretted, that a court whose sovereigns know so well how to value and encourage the arts, should not have chosen a more convenient place in which these precious monuments might be preserved from the destruction by which they are threatened.

Contiguous to the castle of St. Ildefonso, proofs of the vigilance of Charles III. and his taste for useful establishments, appear on every side. The Count de Florida Blanca, his then prime minister, worthy of seconding the beneficent views of his master, remarked to him that the country round St. Ildefonso contained numbers of poor people, women and children, who through want of employment were reduced to lead an idle life, which might sow the seeds of every kind of vice; the monarch immediately established, not far from his palace, a manufactory in which these persons, until then incapable of rendering themselves useful, weave and prepare linens of different qualities. The edifice which contains them rose, as if by magic, at the command of the sovereign. In 1781, it had not been thought of. A manufacturer at Leon had the mortification of seeing government stop in its progress a considerable manu-

factory, which had been confided to his direction. He was ordered to St. Ildefonso, and before the month of August 1783, there were upwards of twenty looms employed in the new manufactory, and two great machines for pressing and washing the linen; this however is but a trifle, compared to what Spain has done, and has yet to do before she can become independent of foreigners with respect to these articles. Nature has, in this particular, been as kind to her as in all others; she derived advantages from it at the period of her greatest splendour. The Spaniards manufactured all kinds of household linen, and did not import from their neighbours a third of what they do at present. They are now likely to regain those advantages, being convinced that Arragon is proper for the cultivation of hemp and flax.

In Biscay these already flourish, and in Asturia, Old Castile, and particularly in the kingdom of Granada, of which the hemp and flax are preferable to those which Spain is still obliged to procure from the north for the use of her navy, people begin seriously to meditate similar establishments. But Galicia is the only province in which the manufacture of linens is in any very advanced state. This province produces linen for every kind of use, sufficient for its own consumption, and even sends some to Madrid and into Andalusia. Let not foreign merchants, however, who send linen to Spain be alarmed; were all the provinces immediately to follow the example of that of Galicia, her vast colonies would, for a long time, afford an almost inexhaustible market for the linens of Brittany, Silesia, Switzerland, and Ireland.

Near the manufactory for articles of necessity, which was established at the time of my first journey, there is one of luxury, begun in the reign of Philip V. this is a manufactory of looking-glasses, the only one of the kind in Spain. It was at first only a common glass manufactory, which still exists, and produces tolerably good bottles, and white glass

extremely well cut. I purchased some on which cyphers, letters, and pleasing landscapes are ingeniously engraved. This was the first step towards a far more enlarged undertaking. The looking-glass manufactory of St. Ildefonso may be compared with the finest establishments of the kind; drawings of it are given in the plates of the French Encyclopédie. The edifice is spacious and well contrived; it contains two furnaces and twenty ovens, in which the glass gradually cools after having been run. They make glasses of all dimensions, from common squares to those of the greatest size. They are not so clear, and are perhaps less polished than those of Venice and St. Gobin; but no manufacture has yet produced them of such large dimensions. The operation of casting them is performed with much precision. The count d'Artois had the curiosity to be present at it; the glass run in his presence was, as well as I can remember, a hundred and thirty inches long by sixty-five wide, and I was assured that there were others which exceeded it in size. They are chipped in a long gallery joining to the manufactory, and at the distance of a quarter of a league there is a machine put in motion by water, which gives them their last polish; they are afterwards taken to Madrid, where they are silvered. The king has some of the finest to decorate his apartments; of others he makes presents to the courts most intimately connected with that of Spain. His majesty is, however, at a great expense in supporting this manufactory; some of his glasses must have cost him and his father no less than 160,000 reals.

In 1783, Charles III. added some of these glasses to the presents he sent to the Ottoman court, with which he had just concluded a treaty. In the year 1782, his majesty sent to Naples some glasses which were a hundred and thirteen inches long, by fifty-four wide.

It cannot but be highly pleasing to an enlarged

and philosophical mind to reflect that, notwithstanding the prejudices of religion and politics which formerly divided nations, the arts have established between them an exchange of articles of luxury throughout all Europe, and that the beauties of the seraglio may admire themselves in glasses fabricated at St. Ildefonso, whilst Turkey carpets cover the floors of French apartments. The rest of the produce of the manufactory of St. Ildefonso is sold at Madrid, and in the provinces, for the king's account; but it may easily be imagined that the profits are too small to reimburse the expenses of so extensive an establishment, which, except the article of wood, is so distant from all the raw materials it employs. Situated as it is, far inland, surrounded by lofty mountains, and at a considerable distance from any navigable river, it ought certainly to be numbered among the establishments of luxury which prosper near the throne, and contribute to its splendour, without benefiting the people.

At the distance of a quarter of a league from this royal mansion runs a little river (the Eresma) which served for the innocent pleasures of the sovereign, Charles III. and often reflected his image. The banks have on each side a causeway, or where the ground requires them, there are stone or sod steps. It is inclosed between two piles of rocks, grouped in the most romantic manner. Its limpid waters sometimes run tumultuously over lesser rocks in the bed of the river, or precipitate themselves by natural cascades, sometimes forming small basons which serve as asylums to the trout destined to pass from the hook of his Catholic majesty to his table. In some places this river is separated by little meadows from copses of green oak, with which that part of the country abounds. In others tufted shrubs are seen upon the tops of the rocks, or hang waving from their sides.

Traveller, if ever you should reside for some time at St. Ildefonso, and find yourself wearied with the

dull magnificence which reigns in the palaces of kings, repair to the banks of the Eresma, there you will find one of the finest English gardens nature ever formed; nor will you regret those at the distance of a quarter of a league in which art has displayed all its luxury: and you will return more satisfied with yourself and less desirous of the false enjoyments which pomp procures at an enormous expense.

The late court of Spain used to go once a year to alarm the Naiades of the Eresma, by the noise of a general deer-hunting. The rendezvous is upon the banks of this little river, about a league from the castle of St. Ildefonso. Some days previous to the arrival of the court, a number of peasants are sent to the neighbouring woods and hills to drive before them the deer with which the country plentifully abounds. The prescribed limits are by degrees narrowed, until the time fixed for rousing the game. The sport then becomes excellent: the deer run in small herds on all sides, seemingly perceiving the danger into which they are driven; after which they face about and endeavour to brave the running fire of musquetry that threatens them in the rear; but obeying the impulses of fear, and failing in their attempt, they pass in closer herds through the fatal defile, where the king, his sons, and the other princes, placed in ambuscade, wait their arrival. Their agility now becomes their last resource, and saves the greater number. Out of three or four thousand, and sometimes more, which thus pass in review, about a hundred fall. Some remain dead upon the spot, others carry away with them a mortal wound, and fly to conceal their agony in the thickets. Their bodies, whilst yet in palpitation, are brought and arranged upon the field of battle. These are numbered with a cruel satisfaction, for which a philosopher would reproach himself, but which it is agreed to pardon in hunters. The whole court, the ambassadors, and foreign ministers, commonly took

part in this amusement, which was repeated towards the end of every visit to the Escurial; but in the present reign these hunts have by no means been regular. The counts of Artois and Dammartin were invited as they returned from the camp of St. Roch, and appeared there as actors. They perhaps would have wished for a less easy victory over the timid inhabitants of the woods, which they are accustomed to chase, and not coolly to massacre; but the forests of Compiegne and Fontainbleau had never offered them those legions of fleet herds, filing off by thousands before them, and this sight, perhaps the only one of the kind in Europe, seemed highly to gratify their curiosity.

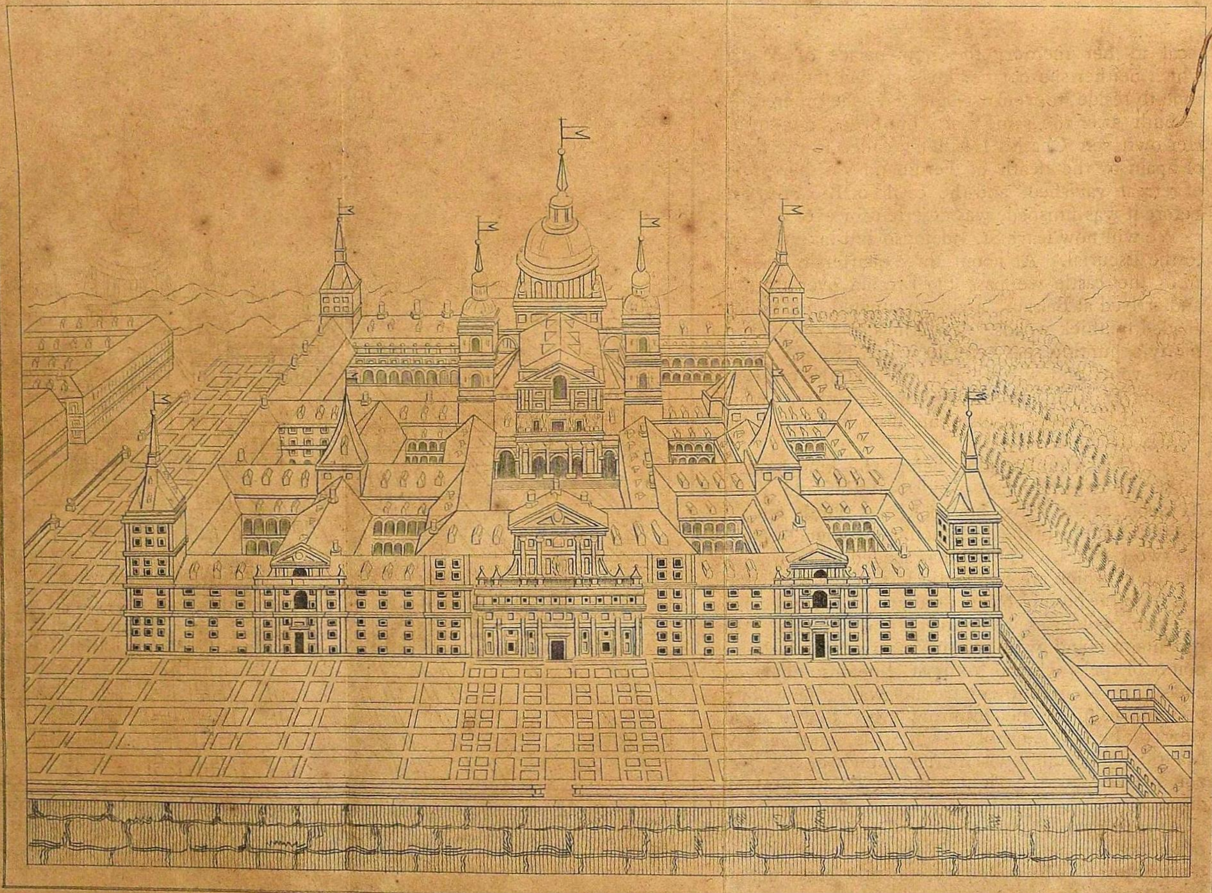
This bush-beating, though not regularly pursued, has often taken place, with the apparent view of effecting a rapid extermination of the stags and deer, who commit great devastations amongst the fields near the royal residences. In the very first year of his reign Charles IV. destroyed more than two thousand of those animals, by having them driven before batteries charged with grape-shot, and in 1792 and 1793, I found that this practice was regularly resorted to in the neighbourhood of his residences.

There is another place to which, during the visit to St. Ildefonso, the catholic king goes once to carry thither the noise and terror which accompany the chase. I mean the environs of Paular, a monastery of Carthusians, at the foot and on the other side of the enormons mountains which command the castle. During the rest of the year it is the asylum of peace and silence. The Pauler, one of the richest convents of the Carthusians in Spain, is situated in a charming valley, watered by a considerable rivulet, which runs gently through the groves and meadows. This stream drives a paper-mill, the noise of which is the only sound repeated by the solitary echoes of the neighbourhood. A Frenchman manages this manufactory on the account of the monks, and seems in

this corner of the world to have forgotten both his country and language. We one day recognized each other by that species of instinct by which two natives of the same country are reciprocally attracted, who first explain themselves by a smile, of which their common language soon becomes the interpreter. I had been to visit the monastery of Paular, and had forgotten to provide myself with letters of recommendation to the prior. Excluded from this pious asylum, I expiated my negligence by wandering, without knowing whither I went, and without provisions, about the monastery. My guardian angel, or the genius of the country, conducted me towards the paper-mill; I took the lucky path, and the director of this little manufactory conjecturing I was a Frenchman, accosted me and offered his service. His intercession opened to me the doors of the convent, and procured me proofs of the hospitable generosity of its silent inhabitants.

There is nothing remarkable in the monastery of Paular, except the great cloister in which Vincent Carducho has painted the principal events of the life of Saint-Bruno.

Before quitting St. Ildefonso, it is necessary to conduct the reader to the castle of Rio Frio, three leagues from St. Ildefonso. Charles III. came hither annually to hunt the herds of deer which wander in the woods by which it is surrounded. These animals, which in general are so timid, appear to live here in a security that excites surprize in the traveller, and which is disturbed but once a year, when the king makes them pass gently in review, and chooses at leisure those he means to kill. The castle of Rio Frio is situated in an extremely sandy soil. It was built by queen Isabella of Farnese, who after the death of Philip V. retired to St. Ildefonso during the whole reign of Ferdinand VI. son of that monarch, but by another wife; and determined to make the castle of Rio Frio her last abode. That it might



PALACE OF THE ESCURIAL.

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recal to her memory the new palace of Madrid, which neither she nor her husband had the good fortune to reside in even a single day, she ordered it to be built after the same plan, but of less dimensions. Her own son Charles III. being called to the throne of Spain by the death of Ferdinand VI. her project of retreat vanished, and the castle of Rio Frio, even before it was finished, was deserted for ever.

We will now leave St. Ildefonso and take the road to the Escurial. At about three quarters of a league from the castle we pass the Eresma over a bridge, and arrived at Balsain, a village situated in a hollow, shaded by thick woods. The kings of Spain had formerly a hunting seat here, to which Philip V. sometimes went, and where he conceived the project of building St. Ildefonso, in this wild country, which promised to gratify at once his taste for solitude and for the chace.

The French ambassador, before the king built his palace at St. Ildefonso, resided at this old castle. As soon as we have passed it, we climb for two leagues the tops of the high mountains which separate the two Castiles. The road is shaded by high pines, the top of which are frequently lost in the fogs which rise from the bosoms of deep valleys. The air becomes insensibly colder as we approach the summits of the mountains; and when we have arrived at the seven points of rocks which, from St. Ildefonso, have the appearance of an immense parapet wall, a new object presents itself to the admiring eye. Before us we view the vast plains of new Castile, and perceive Madrid considerably within the bounds of the horizon over which the sight wanders to an immense distance.

At this spot, we find ourselves, as it were, in another country, and find another sky and a different temperature. The traveller frequently leaves behind him clouds upon clouds, to which the mountains seem to serve as boundaries, and instantly passes into

the most serene air. The rays of the sun lost in the thick fogs which he had just passed through, add colouring and embellishment to the prospect around him. He soon precipitates himself rather than descends from the top of this magnificent belvedere, and at the end of two leagues arrives at the town of Guadarrama, through which passes the great road from Paris to Madrid. He crosses this road to follow that which leads to the Escurial, at which the court used to reside six weeks after leaving St. Ildefonso.

This famous monastery is situated at the midway of the ascent of the chain of mountains which terminate old Castile. The choice which Philip V. made of this steep situation indicates savage and melancholy character which history has attributed to that prince. We will not here, however, repeat their censures. The Spaniards, even at this distance of time, have not yet abandoned him to the censure of posterity as we have our Louis XI. whom he resembled in more points than one. His memory, besides, seems to command respect, at the approach of this royal convent, where we perpetually hear him called "our holy founder," where his ashes are deposited, and where his image every where meets the eye. This foundation, as is well known, was in consequence of a vow made on the day of the battle of St. Quintin, at which, however, Philip was not present. It is known also that he dedicated it to St. Lawrence, of whom that day was the feast. In Spain it is called by the name of this saint (San Lorenzo), and every thing in the Escurial reminds us of the instrument of his martyrdom. It is not only seen upon the doors, windows, altars, rituals, and sacerdotal habits, but the edifice itself bears its form. It is a quadrangular building with the principal front to the west, behind which is a mountain; the opposite side, which faces Madrid, takes the form of the shortened handle of a gridiron reversed; and the four feet are represented by the spires of four little square towers which

rise above the four angles. I will not undertake, with the Abbé de Vayrac and Colmenar, to give the number, no doubt exaggerated by them, of all the doors, windows, courts, &c. of this famous convent. Although it certainly has something awful, it does not perfectly correspond to the idea formed of it, according to the accounts we have received. Its form did not permit the architect to make the most of its vast extent; and it is not till we have passed the numerous dormitories, and wandered among the courts, stair-cases and galleries that the imagination completes what a first view had only sketched. There is nothing magnificent in the architecture. It has rather that serious simplicity more proper for a convent than the splendid elegance which announces the residence of a great monarch. The front to the west alone has a fine portal formed by large columns of the Doric order, half sunk in the wall, and on each side two great doors of noble dimensions. By this portal we pass to an elegant square court, at the bottom of which is a church. This principal entrance is never open for the kings of Spain and the princes of the blood, except on two solemn occasions. When they come for the first time to the Escurial, and when their remains are deposited there in the vault which awaits them. I could not but imagine I perceived the emblem of the gates of life, and those of eternity, which, for the children of kings, as well as for the meanest of mortals, open but once and immediately shut again for ever.

On this side, the door of the church is announced by a fine peristyle; over the front of which are colossal statues of six kings of Israel, which appear as in equilibrium upon their slight pedestals. These six kings had some share in the founding or rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, as we are informed by the inscriptions upon the bases of their statues. The two in the middle are David and Solomon, to whom the sculptor has endeavoured to give the likeness of

Charles V. and Philip II. his son; so ingenious has flattery ever been in seeking new channels to convey its homage, and turning to its use even what seems least adapted to its purpose.

The front to the south is entirely destitute of ornament; but in four stories there are nearly three hundred windows. The two great doors of entrance are on the opposite front. The whole edifice is built of hewn stone of a species of bastard granite, which, by its colour, become brown with time, adds to the austerity of the building. The quarry where it was dug is in the neighbourhood of the Escurial, and it is said that this was one motive for the choice of the situation of the Escurial. It furnished blocks of such considerable dimensions, that three stones were sufficient to form the chambranle of the greatest door-ways, and each step of the principal stair-case is composed but of one.

When the court is not at the Escurial, it resembles only a vast convent inhabited by two hundred monks, under the inspection of a prior. On the arrival of the court the convent is transformed into a palace! the monks are banished to the apartments in the south and west sides, and the principal cells become the habitations of the royal family, and the nobility and gentry of both sexes, by whom they are accompanied. The king himself has his in the narrow space which forms the handle of the gridiron. Philip II. seems to have wished to make this a retreat, where sovereign greatness might retire to hide itself beneath the shade of altars, and become familiarized to its tomb; and his successors, faithful to this vow of humility, still content themselves with the same modest habitation. It communicates, by a stair-case, with the church and vestry, in which the united arts have displayed all their magnificence.

The church is in the form of a Grecian cross, above which is a dome. The whole building rests upon pillars, perhaps rather too massy, in the interstices

of which are several altars. The architecture is simple but majestic. Several subjects from holy writ, and some sacred allegories are painted in fresco in the dome, by the magical pencil of Luca Giordano. The great altar, which is ascended by twenty steps, contains three different orders of architecture, one above the other, in the form of a mutilated pyramid: no expense has been spared in decoration. Richness and elegance are united in the tabernacle. The columns are of the most precious marble; the interstices are filled up with paintings by Lucas Cambiaso and Pellegrino Tibaldi. Yet the whole has something parsimonious in its appearance, which forms a striking contrast with the majesty of the edifice. It is too lofty for its breadth, and appears to be crammed by force into the narrow space it occupies, as if it had not been erected for the church to which it belongs. But the two monuments which accompany it are really beautiful; these perfectly accord with the first of the three orders of which it is composed; that is Doric, with fluted columns. The tombs are those of Charles V. and Philip II. These two sovereigns are on their knees, and seem to bow their majesty before the king of kings. They occupy the forepart of a kind of open chamber lined with black marble, by the side of the altar. There is something at once solemn and grand in the two monuments. The spectator, while contemplating them, cannot but profoundly reflect on the vain insignificance of human greatness, and the abyss in which it is sooner later swallowed up. The tranquillity that reigns around them seems to be that of death, against which the lords of the earth vainly arm themselves with sepulchral pride. These reflections become still more serious when applied to two sovereigns, who, during their lives, disturbed the world with their ambition, and are now condemned to eternal silence by the only law which they could not escape.

The two nearest altars to the high altar, are those

of the Annunciation and St. Jerome, which have beauties for devotees and goldsmiths. Two great doors, upon which are two indifferent paintings by Lucas Cambiaso, open and leave the eye dazzled with innumerable relics in vases, and cases of silver and silver gilt, enriched with precious stones. There is also a large St. Laurence of solid silver, upon the breast of which are some spoils of this martyr, which his disciples saved from the flames. The church contains also some good paintings by artists of the second order, among which are several apostles by Navarette, known by the appellation of the dumb, the fall of the angels, and the martyrdom of St. Ursula, by Pellegrino Tibaldi. In the two vestries particularly, master-pieces of painting are scattered with such profusion as is capable of fatiguing the admiration even of connoisseurs. In the first, in which the light is not good, there are three by Paul Veronese, one by Titian, two by Tintoret, one by Rubens, and one by Spagnoletto. The principal vestry contains a still greater number, and would alone be sufficient to justify the fame of the Escurial.

I shall only mention those paintings which are most striking to eyes least accustomed to judge of the productions of the arts. That which has the greatest effect is the altar-piece, by Claude Coello, a Portuguese, otherwise little known. It retraces a scene, of which the vestry was the theatre. Charles II. accompanied by the nobility of his retinue, is represented on his knees before the holy sacrament, held by the prior of the monastery; the monarch went thither publicly to supplicate pardon for the profanation of a host, lacerated by impious hands, and revenged by a miracle. The holy meditation of the monarch, the appearance of compunction in his features, the attitude of the prior, and those of the monks by which he is surrounded, and the manner in which so many figures are grouped without confusion, give to the whole of this painting the most

sensible effect; and although it be far from the best piece, there is none which leave a greater impression upon the generality of spectators. Real connoiseurs, and those who are dazzled by great names, prefer a fine holy Virgin by Guido; two paintings by Vandyck, one the woman taken in adultery, the other St. Jerome naked to the waist, and writing as he is dictated to by an angel, whose freshness of complexion produces the most agreeable contrast with the sallow skin of the aged saint. A large picture by Tintoret, in which this painter has indulged all the caprice of his imagination, in giving a representation of the Lord's Supper. An assumption by Annibal Carracci; several pieces by Titian, and two, very admirable for the colouring, one a St. Sebastian of the natural size, and the other our Saviour disputing with a doctor of the law; three by Raphael; one called the pearl, on account of its superior excellence, is a holy family, in which the infant Jesus has a grace, justness of expression, and an exactness of drawing which belongs only to this great master; and another the Visitation, in which the modesty of the Virgin, and her embarrassment on appearing before Elizabeth with the unexpected and already apparent signs of her pregnancy cannot be too much admired.

Artists of inferior celebrity, have also contributed to the decoration of the vestry. I shall mention but two; the chevaliers Maxime and Romanelli. The first has exhibited the beauty of Guido's forms, in the painting where Christ disputes in the temple with the doctors, and the graces and sweetness of the pencil of Albano appear in that of the latter, the Virgin seated caressed by her only infant. I cannot leave the vestry without mentioning a kind of obelisk in filigree, ornamented with precious stones, concealed behind the fine painting of Claude Coello, and which is never exposed except at the celebration of the miracle it represents. It may be imagined, without my saying it, that this vestry contains, in large drawers,

the most rich sacerdotal ornaments, chandeliers, sacred vases and the like, which are greater proofs of the magnificence of the kings of Spain than of their piety.

The same observation may be made on the pantheon, their sepulchre, to which a door in the passage from the church to the vestry opens. The stair-case is entirely covered with marble, as is also the inside of the pantheon. This is also divided into several chambers, each of which has its particular distinction. One of them is what is called the poddridero, or the rotting place. Here the bodies of the kings and the royal family are delivered up to the first ravages of corruption. The bodies of the princes and princesses of Spain, who have not reigned, are deposited in another. It is in this august and dismal assembly that the Duke of Vendôme is placed; like M de Turenne at St. Denis, among the remains of our kings. Many people are still of opinion, that the first of these generals was interred in a village in the kingdom of Valencia, where he died. I examined the register of the monastery, and found an account of his remains being brought thither, and I afterwards learned, that they arrived at the Escurial the 9th of September 1712, and were received by Lord Cotron, captain of the guards of Philip V, and the Count de Las Torres; that they were first deposited in the old pantheon, whence they were transferred to that of the princes. The real pantheon serves as the last asylum only for the kings and queens of Spain. It seems as if they wished to be revenged of death, which levels all ranks, by making this pre-eminence survive them.

It is impossible not to feel a kind of religious awe when we descend into this vault, into which deceased grandeur seems to struggle against annihilation? A few rays of half extinguished light with difficulty penetrate this cold abode. To supply the defect, a superb lustre, pendant from the cupola, is lighted up on extraordinary occasions; but except in

these cases the curious are conducted by a flambeau into the middle of the motionless and silent assembly of sovereigns of both sexes. By the unsteady light of the flambeau we discover, opposite the door by which we enter, an altar and a crucifix of black marble upon a pedestal of porphyry. The rest corresponds to this melancholy magnificence. The cases which contain the bodies of the kings and queens are placed on each side the altar, in three stories, and in different compartments, formed by five fluted pilasters of marble; the cases are of bronze, simple, yet noble in their form. The pantheon is not yet full, but the empty cases are ready to open to receive their deposits. A salutary yet terrible lesson, which kings have not refused to receive from the bold designs of an able architect.

In the most elevated tomb of the first division, reposes Philip II. He it was who laid the foundation of the pantheon; but it was not finished till the reign of Philip IV. as we are informed by the inscription over the inner door of the stair-case. It has yet been opened but to two sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, the young king Louis I. who ascended the throne in 1721, and died the same year, and queen Amelia, wife to the present monarch; as if the ashes of two royal houses, so long divided by political interest, were still averse to uniting even in the tomb. Philp V. and his queen are interred at St. Ildefonso; Ferdinand VI. and queen Barbara his wife, at Madrid, in a convent which they had founded.

The following well-known line cannot be applied to this temple of death;

Le temps, qui detruit tout, en affermit les murs.*

The ravages of time, seconded by the damps, have

* Time, which destroys all things, has given strength to the walls.

not spared even the marble. Here we are at once led to reflect on the frailty of man, whatever may be his rank, and the perishable nature of his works, which in his pride he dares to consecrate to immortality.

The choir of the monks of the Escurial is above the great door of the church, and opposite the high altar. The walls are decorated with paintings in fresco, the subjects of which have relation to St. Jerome and St. Lawrence. The pulpit, notwithstanding its enormous size, turns upon a pivot with surprizing facility. Behind the choir, is a masterpiece of sculpture; a Christ in marble, of the natural size; it was executed by Benvenuto Cellini, by whom the constable de Bourbon was killed upon the walls of Rome.

From the sides of the choir begins a gallery which runs along the two fronts of the church, and communicates by four doors to the first story of the monastery; it is intersected by several spaces, between the joints and pillars, which contain a part of the congregation during the time of divine service. Thither I frequently went, that I might be penetrated with the profound sentiments which enter the minds of persons, the least devout, at the awful aspect of a temple. That of the Escurial disposes more than any other to such meditations. Its mass, the solidity of which has already survived its founder, who sleeps within its walls, almost two centuries, and will survive him for twenty more; the memory of this imperious monarch, which for a long time past has there received no other tribute than funeral prayers, and whose shade is supposed to wander in this melancholy monument of his fear and his piety; the sound of a hundred voices which makes the roofs re-echo with the praises of the Eternal Being; all disposes the mind to serious reflection, with which it is a thousand times more satisfied than with vain and giddy dissipation. Ye who look with envy upon transient grandeur, and who wish to vanquish that

restless ambition which embitters your days, and may render them culpable, visit this temple and resign yourself to meditation; you will find your heart softened and your reason fortified; your eyes will be filled with tears, and you will return more resigned to your fate, more humane, and more happy.

On leaving the gallery to go to the royal apartments, we pass a long corridor, remarkable for the paintings in fresco on the walls. It is called the hall of battles, because the paintings represent several of the ancient kings of Spain against the Moors. The perspective is badly observed, but the attitudes, dresses, and the lively colouring excite the admiration of all connoisseurs.

I shall not describe a small chapel adjoining to the choir, in which are a large painting of St. Ferdinand, the master-piece of Luca Giordano, and a few other middling performances, nor several other places in which paintings are to be found. The art of fatiguing is that of saying every thing.

I cannot, however, avoid mentioning the two great cloisters: one above, the other below: paved with marble, and of vast dimensions. The paintings in fresco of the lower cloister are, perhaps, more extolled than they deserve. If the connoisseur seek the effects of perspective, and brilliant colouring, he will be deceived in his expectations; but if he admire heads full of expression, and the great and vigorous forms of the school of Michael Angelo, he will return more than once to examime the principal events of the life of our Saviour, painted in almost colossal figures by Pellegrino Tibaldi, round the cloister.

Both the cloisters are entered by narrow and obscure corridors. The chief defect in the architecture of the Escurial, is that, in general, the principal objects are not so placed as to have the best effect. The portal is seen but by accident; nothing announces the great stair-case; you arrive at the foot of it before you suppose it to be near. There is a

fine inner court, ornamented with two rows of porticos, of noble architecture; the centre is occupied by a small circular temple, with four doors, of which the inner columns correspond to four stone basons, each as it were under the protection of an angel. This is, perhaps, the most regular piece of architecture in the Escurial: but it seems to be wilfully concealed from the eyes of the curious; it is seen but from the windows of the two great cloisters, to which it serves as a centre; and even then you are in doubt whether it be a court or a garden, for it is divided into four parts, laid out and planted like a parterre.

The great cloister below, which overlooks the court, has four principal doors; two of which communicate with the church and vestry. By a third you enter the capitulary hall, which contains several paintings by Titian, and one by Velasquez, representing the sons of Jacob bringing him the bloody garment of their brother Joseph. The effect of the perspective, and the correctness of the drawing, in this piece, are admirable; but more nobleness of design might be wished. A Virgin by Raphael, a St. Jerome by Guerchino, a crowning with thorns by Vandyck, three pieces by Rubens, and three by Spagnoletto are also found here. But the pieces most to be admired in the capitulary hall, are three masterly paintings by Guido; two heads full of truly celestial expression, one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul; and a Virgin seated, before whom stands the infant Jesus, in a pensive and fine attitude.

The fourth door, which answers to the great lower cloister, is that of the old church of the monastery. This also contains paintings worthy of attention; several by Titian, among others, the great altar-piece, which represents the martyrdom of St. Laurence; three by Spagnoletto, remarkable for beauty of colouring: and one, a wonderful piece, by Raphael, which, for its learned composition, its beauty, nobleness of design, correctness of drawing, and every ex-

cellence that characterises the inimitable talent of this great master is superior to all in the Escurial. I have seen connoisseurs view with transport, and shed tears of admiration, before this sublime master-piece, without these delicious impressions being weakened by a reflection natural enough, on the fantastical union of persons it presents; these are the Virgin Mary, Christ, and St. Jerome in a cardinal's habit, reading to them the bible, while the angel Raphael conducts, to the feet of the divine groupe the young Tobit, who comes with a timid air to render the tribute of his fish. The last circumstance has given the painting the appellation of Madonna del Pez (our lady of the fish).

It is inconceivable how the genius of Raphael could stoop to this strange composition, which undoubtedly was prescribed him, and yet that the execution should bear no marks of such compulsion. If his exquisite taste was not disgusted by a dissonance which shocks the least delicate one, what becomes of the rules of art, and the precepts of reason? After such an example, how is it possible not to look upon them as so many chains, which genius in its soarings may shake off with impunity. Does not it justify all the extravagance which fantastical or ignorant artists have dared to display upon canvas, one arming Abraham with a pistol, with which he is going to shoot Isaac, another representing the Virgin with a chaplet in her hand, and a third introducing our modern artillery in the combat of satan and the angels?

We will now leave the old church of the Escurial, in which it is easy to forget at the sight of the Madonna del Pez, that the monastery contains other objects worthy the attention of the curious. After having admired the superb piece of Titian (the Last Supper) which takes up the whole breadth of the refectory of the monks, we will ascend to the upper cloister, the walls of which are also ornamented with paintings. There are several not above mediocrity;

but some by Luca Giordano are seen with pleasure, as also may be two or three by Spagnoletto, and one by Navarette, known by the name of the dumb, and whom Philip II. called the Titian of Spain.

The stair-case which leads from the lower to the upper cloister, must not be passed over in silence. The four sides of the frieze and the ceiling are painted in fresco by Giordano, and represent the battle of St. Quintin, the accomplishment of the vow of Philip II. and the arrival of that mnoarch at the celestial court.

On the first landing-place of the stair-case there are little cloisters, which lead to the library of the Escurial, less remarkable for the number of volumes it contains than for the choice of them, and more particularly the Arabic and Greek manuscripts. All the arts concerned in the decoration; and if there be a defect, it is perhaps that of being too much ornamented. Every vacant space is filled with paintings; the ceiling, which is vaulted, is ornamented with Arabesques, and figures for the most part colossal. Tibaldi, the master of Michael Angelo, has here displayed the frequently exaggerated vigour of his pencil: his forced attitudes resemble contortions; his forms are so great as to become gigantic, and almost monstrous; these diminish the effect of the whole, by narrowing the fine dimensions of the library and destroying its other decorations. The shelves which contain the books, and which are of precious wood, beautifully carved, appear trifling beneath the colossi of Tibaldi. Above the shelves are paintings in fresco by Barthelemi Carducho, which also suffer from the cause already mentioned; the subjects are taken from sacred or profane history, or have relation to the sciences of which the shelves below presents to us the elements. Thus the council of Nice is represented above the books which treats of theology; the death of Archimedes at the seige of Syracuse, indicates those which relate to mathematics; and Cicero pronouncing his oration in

favour of Rabirius, the works relative to eloquence and the bar.

The middle of the library is occupied by globes and tables; upon one of the latter is a small equestrian statue of Philip IV.; upon another, a little temple of solid silver, ornamented with lapis-lazuli and precious stones. Round these are ranged all the ancestors of the queen Ann of Neubourg, wife of Charles II. up to Charlemagne, who is placed in the centre of the temple.

In the intervals between the shelves are portraits of Charles V. and of the three Philips his successors to the throne of Spain. Ye philosophers who, after having read what I have written, shall visit this library stop before the portrait of Philip II. painted with great exactness by Pantoja de la Cruz; contemplate his grave and austere physiognomy, and you will read an abridgment of the history of his reign; but communicate not the result of your reflections to the monks who accompany you, this would be a bad return for the obliging reception you will receive from them. If you have brought with you to the Escurial prejudices against the Spaniards in general, or against the monks in particular, you will certainly lay them aside after having passed a quarter of an hour with the Jeronymites of this monastery; you will be convinced that under the Spanish mantle, or even the religious habit, more obliging manners, more complaisance, and more real goodness are concealed, than are promised by the elegance of a French dress. For the truth of what I here say, I may appeal to two Danish professors, who, a few years ago, were sent to the Escurial to make learned researches, and were, perhaps, better received by the monks, notwithstanding the difference of their manners, language, and religion, than they would have been at the university of Copenhagen. They were lodged in the convent, and provided with every thing they could wish, with the most generous hospitality. All the treasures of the

library were opened to them, and they passed two months in examining and making extracts from the manuscripts which excited their curiosity. They returned home with hearts deeply impressed with gratitude, and port-folios enriched with the fruits of their laborious researches. The obliging generosity they experienced on this occasion was the more remarkable, as the manuscripts entrusted to their inspection are still unknown to the public, except by a few extracts given of them by a learned monk named Cassiri. These consist of two volumes in folio, but are far from compleating the extensive plan the monk proposed to himself. After his death they were consigned to another of the fathers of the Escurial, and the learned impatiently expect the result of his labours. The library of the Escurial is open every morning and evening during the residence of the court, and the librarians refuse books to no person.

The manuscripts are not kept in the great library which is open to every comer, but in a large hall above, always shut up, and to which all the books prescribed by Spanish orthodoxy are sent. The portraits of such natives of Spain as have distinguished themselves in the sciences, arts, or in literature, are hung round the hall, and the number of the learned in Spain is more considerable than our supercilious contempt for this nation will easily believe. This contempt may, perhaps, induce one to imagine it has found a subject for triumph in the library of the Escurial, on viewing the books placed the contrary way, so that the edges of the leaves are outwards, and contain their titles written on them. I have laid it down as a rule particularly in travelling, never to form my judgment from mere appearances. I asked the reason for this custom; and was told that Arias Montanus, a learned Spaniard of the sixteenth century, whose library had served as a foundation for that of the Escurial, had all his books placed and incribed in that manner, which no doubt appeared to him to be the most commodious

method of arranging them; that he had introduced his own method into the Escurial; and since his time and for the sake of uniformity, it had been followed with respect to the books afterwards added. This explanation proves nothing but the oddity of one man and an attachment, common to most men, to established customs, especially when in themselves they are almost indifferent.

The large and beautiful stair-case which leads to the great upper cloister communicates with the choir of the monks of which we have spoken, and has a lesser capitulary hall which you cross in descending to the king's apartment. Those whose admiration has not been exhausted by the noble paintings they have just seen, will remark as they pass by, an annunciation, by Paul Veronese; a nativity, by Tintoret; a descent from the cross, and a St. Margaret, frightened by the apparition of a dragon, by Titian; but more especially one by the same master, which is called the glory of Titian, either on account of its excellence, or because it represents Charles V. and Philip II. admitted to celestial glory, in presence of the principal patriarchs of the ancient law, with characteristic attributes, admirably grouped on each side and in front of the painting. A small cabinet adjoining to this hall contains several relics, one of the miraculous urns at the marriage of Cana, an old manuscript of the life of St. Theresa, written by herself, &c.

We afterwards arrive at the stair-case which leads to the king's apartments, and in the way to it pass through a kind of gallery hung with paintings. The principal ones are, a descent from the cross, an exquisite production of the pencil of Spagnoletto; and a large picture representing Lot and his daughters, which a connoisseur would be tempted to attribute to Guido, but which is thought to be by the Chevalier Maxime. Whoever the painter may be, it is one of

the most admirable pictures in the Escurial. In a corner of the same gallery there are several others worthy of attention; particularly a small picture by Rubens, which several martyrs, and particularly St. Laurence and St. Sextus, are grouped in suppliant attitudes round the throne of the Virgin.

I should never finish were I to give an account of all the curiosities of this kind contained in the Escurial, I have, perhaps, already said too much, both for those who will never see it, and for others who are as well acquainted with it as myself. Those who wish for a more complete nomenclature of the curiosities of the monastery, called by some the eighth wonder of the world, may consult the description in folio given of it by father Ximenes, one of its monks; and travels in Spain by the abbé Pons, a man of sense and learning, and a lover of the fine arts, who has employed a whole volume on this subject. What I have said is sufficient to inform my readers that it is the rich collection of pictures which justifies the fame of the Escurial, and that if those whose devotion has embellished it, should despoil it of this part of its riches, if the court should not come to reside there every year, and bring the train of attendants and pomp which accompanies it, the Escurial would be nothing more than a great convent, awful by its mass and solidity, as is the case with nearly twenty others in different parts in Christendom.

The narrow terrace on each side, whence the eye commands, towards the east, a very extensive but little varied prospect, would not be sufficient to rank it above this class. The abbé de Veyrac and Colmenar, particularly speak of its immense park. Nevertheless I saw nothing in the environs but woods full of rocky eminences, intersected with meadows, which are seldom green, and stocked with innumerable herds of deer. There results, perhaps, from the whole a more agreeable effect, less monotonous and more pleasing than that produced by the wide walks, stars,

and obelisks, so much admired in the parks of the sovereigns of France and Germany; but on the other hand, there is nothing which presents the appearance of grandeur and magnificence, which we naturally expect should accompany a royal mansion.

From the terrace of the convent you descend by steps cut in the side to a garden not very large, much decorated, nor even carefully cultivated. At the end of the terrace, to the west, is a wooden building adjoining to the grand edifice, but of a different kind of architecture. This is perhaps the only part of the Escurial where real elegance attracts our notice. It communicates with it by a gallery which leads to a new building, parallel with the principal front of the convent, and which serves as lodging apartments to the house of the infants.

This building, placed immediately at the foot of the mountains which shade the Escurial, and in the direction of the winds which force their way into the narrow passes, contributes to abate their violence. It however does not prevent their effects from being very sensible, especially in the season which the court passes at the Escurial. They are the more troublesome, as they pass along the front to the north, and impetuously sweep the oblong space which separates it from the apartments allotted to the ministers, and some of the clerks in office, and which you are obliged to cross to go from the convent to the village. If the exaggerated accounts given to strangers may be believed, these furious winds not only stop those who pass, make them stagger, and sometimes throw them down, but they blow with such violence against the carriages stationed before the palace, that they sometimes remove them from their places to the great astonishment of their drivers.

To avoid the inconvenience, and render the communication from the convent to the village less troublesome, some years ago a subterraneous and vaulted gallery of hewn stone was constructed, which runs

under the whole length of the oblong space called Lonja. Those who go to the palace may, sheltered by the impenetrable roof worthy of royal magnificence, in all weathers, brave the fury of the elements, and disregard the winds which roar above their heads. The idea is said to have been given by M. de Massones, who died soon after the gallery was finished, and whom we have seen ambassador in France, prior to the marquis of Grimaldi.

The situation of the Escurial renders the walks in the environs unpleasant; you may wander with pleasure, however, in a valley between the front to the south, and a mountain, which opposes to it its high and woody top. The inequality of the ground produces every moment new points of view, and favours the rapid fall of several rivulets which meander through the copse. A soft melancholy invades us, whilst we listen to the distant murmurs of these rills which are heightened by the rustling of the trees, more frequently agitated by the north wind than caressed by zephyrs; to these are added the hollow lowings of the deer, which, during the seasons of their amours, restlessly wander under their shades. This valley is continued by a gentle descent from the Cazin of the Infant Don Gabriel to that of the prince of Asturias. These are two little houses, each a quarter of a league from the Escurial, which are the rendezvous of the two princes for their innocent parties of pleasure. They are decorated within with more elegance than is expected from their modest exterior. That especially of the prince of Asturias contains within a very small space, the richest and most highly-finished sculpture, gilding, joinery, and locksmiths' work; the prince has also collected a great number of paintings, some of which with respect to their size and subjects, might be better placed than in this pleasing habitation, where an amiable luxury should exclusively reign, but which is terrified at the view of the green paintings in which Luca Gior-

dano has displayed his fertile imagination, and especially at that of the heads of the apostles, and the melancholy productions of Spagnoletto, whose grave pencil seems to have been destined to penitentiary subjects. We are even less at our ease in the presence of several holy virgins by Murillo, notwithstanding the ingenuous sweetness of their features, and the soft and delightful colouring which characterizes the productions of this amiable artist. But, undoubtedly, these great pictures are only placed there until they can be disposed of in a manner more agreeable to the dignity of their subjects. After they are taken away, there will remain a number sufficient to complete the embellishment of this palace in miniature. There are five landscapes, and other paintings, more analogous to its destination. Some copies of the masterly paintings at Madrid, are also found here, as well as two sea-pieces by Vernet, of which Louis XVI., some few years ago, made a present to his royal highness Charles IV. then prince of Asturias. We have observed in another place that this prince, a lover and patron of the arts, conceived on that occasion the project of having a cabinet painted entirely by the hand of Vernet, and this cabinet is one of those of the lodge of which we speak. Each of the pannels is a complete painting, one represents the sea violently agitated; another a calm and a fine moon-light; a third a fire in the night. Other paintings of lesser dimensions fill the narrow spaces between the door and the window. The inimitable talent of Vernet is conspicuous in them all, and if posterity should be ignorant of their date, they will be thought to be of his best productions, although he received his orders for them no longer than four or five years ago. It is however to be regretted, that the three principal pieces are placed too low, as well as too near, to be in the proper point of view, without going out of the cabinet which contains them.

The little lodge of the infant Don Gabriel, which

was afterwards inherited by his brother, Don Antonio, is less than that of the prince his brother, and not so much ornamented; but the same observations may be made concerning it. There are three or four of the best pieces of Spagnoletto, especially a St. Peter, remarkable for accuracy and expression, though it might be more admired in another place. But who shall dare to banish from the collection two heads, one by Corregio, the other by Murillo, both ravishing by their grace and softness? The infant, Don Gabriel, who united the knowledge of a connoisseur and the zeal of an amateur, not satisfied with encouraging the arts, also cultivated them himself; he hung with drawings, by the greatest masters, one of the cabinets of his lodge.

We will now take leave of the rocks and mountains of the Escurial, and conduct the reader to Madrid by one of the finest roads, but across one of the most barren countries in Europe. There is, however, as we descend from the hill on which the monastery stands, a small forest which presents agreeable prospects. It is pleasing enough to see numerous herds of stags, paying but little attention to the noise of carriages which pass, and feeding among horses and oxen. Travellers might almost suppose that these animals were sensible of their security, and that they said to them: " We are very timid, but fear you not; an Almighty power watches over our preservation." They are equally amusing, when upon a false alarm they file off, bounding on their elastic feet before the passenger whom they challenge to a race. But the measure resorted to by Charles IV. which we have already noticed, has decreased their number, and rendered them more timid. Some ponds, with their uncultivated banks, are seen through the trees, and inspire agreeable reveries. Farther on, a solitary little house offers an asylum to lost wanderers. This is the farm-house of the monks of the Escurial, who sometimes pass there the hot days of summer. It has a

simplicity proper to their situation, and nothing within betrays the opulence they enjoy: for the monastery is one of the richest in Spain. According to a calculation, the exactness of which cannot be suspected, their annual revenues amount to upwards of seven hundred thousand livres (above 29,000*l.*).

On leaving this forest we meet with no more trees until we approach the Manzanares. This very small river runs at some distance under the heights upon which Madrid is situated. It is almost shallow enough for carriages to ford over. It has, however, two great bridges, that of Segovia, and the bridge of Toledo. The latter, built by Philip II. who was fond of ostentation, is so disproportioned to the breadth of the Manzanares, that it was pleasantly said, "that fine bridge only wanted a river." In passing through Spain, several others are met with, upon which the same observation might be made; but the reason is thus explained by M. Silhouette, who, before he became minister, had travelled in Spain, and having, as well as many others, been surprized at the apparent disproportion between the bridge and the river, earnestly sought to discover the cause. Spain is intersected in almost every direction by long chains of mountains, whose summits, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, are frequently covered with snow. The streams and little rivers which descend from their sides, have usually but a small stream of water, because droughts are frequent in the provinces through which they run; but when abundant rains, or the melting of the snow increase their little streams, the beds of the rivers are the more extended on account of their not being deep, and of their carrying with them a great quantity of sand; and according to these circumstances, although not common, the dimensions of the bridges were calculated. They are solidly constructed on account of the sudden risings of the rivers, and their apparently disproportionate length is to obviate the inconvenience which might arise from

an overflowing. Whole ages and nations must not be accused of ignorance and stupidity, because we cannot at first discover the reason for certain customs and practices. How many things, ridiculous at first sight, appear highly reasonable after a proper examination?

Madrid has a good appearance when approached from the side of the Escurial. After having passed the Manzanares, we proceed along a part of the fine road, planted with trees, which leads from the capital to Pardo, a royal mansion, where the court of Charles III. resided from the 7th of January to the holy week. There is nothing remarkable in this edifice. The road runs for some time along the banks of the Manzanares; and on the opposite side we see an ancient country residence of the kings of Spain, around which the large trees cover, to a certain degree, the nakedness of the horizon. This is the Casa del Campo, which the last kings of the House of Austria very much frequented, but which has been much neglected by those of the family of Bourbon.

The gate of St. Vincent, by which we enter, is new and tolerably elegant. We then with difficulty ascend to the palace, which standing alone upon an eminence, without either terrace, park, or garden, has rather the appearance of a citadel than that of a palace of residence for one of the most powerful monarchs in the world. But this impression is dissipated as we approach, and when we have entered the edifice. Its form is almost square, and there is a spacious court in the middle, around which are large piazzas. The apartments and offices of the principal persons of the court are upon the ground floor, which they wholly occupy. A fine marble stair-case, the ascent of which is perhaps too gentle, leads to the first story. The sides of the stair-case are decorated with the richest sculpture and architecture.

We afterwards pass on to the king's apartments

which are of the most magnificent dimensions. The hall, in which the throne is placed, and which is called *sallon de los reynos*, may be admired even by those who have seen the gallery of Versailles. The different dresses of the vast Spanish monarchy are painted in fresco upon the ceiling by a Venetian named Tiepolo; a species of decoration which can only have place in the palace of the sovereigns of Spain. Fine vases, like statues, and antique busts are distributed upon all the tables. The rest of the ornaments are of Spanish production. The glasses, perhaps the largest in Europe, were manufactured at St. Ildefonso, as well as what is called the Bohemian glass, of the window. The tapestry, of which the figures were copied from good paintings, was made in a manufactory near the gates of Madrid; and the inexhaustible and variegated quarries of the peninsula furnished marble for the tables.

The apartments adjoining the gallery are not less richly furnished. The nearest is that in which the king dines. The famous Mengs, who has painted the ceiling, the subject of which is the assembly of the gods and goddesses on Olympus, has displayed such rich and brilliant colouring, and such graceful forms, as prove him equal in execution to the greatest painters of Italy. During the summer, the portraits of Philip II. Philip III. and his queen, Philip IV. and the duke d'Olvarez, all on horseback, painted by Valasquez, and those of Philip V. and the Queen Isabella Farnese his second wife, by Charles Vanloo, are substituted for the tapestry. It is not necessary to be a connoisseur to be struck with the astonishing superiority of the first of these. The fine form of the horse of Philip the Fourth, and the animation of his whole body, cannot be too much admired.

The next apartment is that where the king gives audience. The ceiling which represents the apotheosis of Hercules, is also painted by Mengs. This charming painter, whose women and children are models

of grace and delicacy, does not equally succeed in the portraits of men. To render them powerful and nervous, he exaggerates their form, and makes them appear rather heavy. His last painting, on which he was employed at Rome, when the fine arts and his friends were deprived of him by death, is placed in the same apartment; it is an annunciation. The virgin has an admirable expression of modesty and sweetness; neither Corregio nor Albano ever produced any thing more pleasing. Some of the angels about the celestial throne are equally finished. But it is to be wished the angel Gabriel had a countenance and attitude more suitable to his message. The Supreme Being has not that supernatural grandeur which Guido or Paul Veronese would have given him. However, there is in this apartment a large painting by the same master, which could not have been more highly finished by either of the two latter; this is an adoration of the shepherds in which the men, women and children are equally beautiful and full of expression. His works compose the principal decoration of the king's bed-chamber; it seems as if the monarch wished to mark the distinguished protection he gave to this great painter, by surrounding himself by his productions. They have all undoubtedly some merit, but are eclipsed by a descent from the cross, which, according to connoisseurs, is his greatest production. The observer is never tired with contemplating the deep and tender grief of St. John, whose eyes, wearied with weeping, seem to shew the source of tears to be exhausted; the sublime attitude of the Virgin, who expects no comfort for her sorrows, but from heaven; and the softer, but not more affecting affliction of the Magdalen, who preserves all her charms in the midst of the general grief she participates. I have frequently heard the colour of the dead body criticised. "This Christ," said they, "seems to be of stone." I was induced to think the same, until one day accompanying some foreigners, who

adopted the criticism, I heard one of them exclaim with transport in commendation of the truth of the colouring: surely, said he, in a low voice, "this painter must have seen many dead bodies, to have been able to imitate them so well." The author of the reflection was an experienced surgeon, who, until that moment had not opened his lips upon the subject. The critics were silent, and we recollect the ancient proverb, "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*"

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the pictures in the palace of Madrid, on account of the principal ones alone would fill a volume; but I thought the works of Mengs, scarcely known except in Spain and at Rome, merited an exception. I shall only take notice of a cabinet entirely decorated with porcelain, a curiosity more singular than pleasing, which the *Cicerone* of Madrid wishes to have admired, but concerning which it is more prudent to be silent. We will pass on to other apartments, where admiration stands in no need of being excited.

The chamber, that from the apartment in which the throne is placed, leading to the residence of the prince and princess of Asturias, is too much filled with the admirable paintings crowded into it. Among the twelve capital pictures of Titian, is a Venus blindfolding the eyes of Love; Venus, at her toilette, whose image is half reflected in the glass; a Sisyphus; a Prometheus; a painting of Adam and Eve, which has for its companion the copy which Rubens disdained not to make from it; and several heads, all possessing that exactness of expression and colouring which Titian alone knew how to give. Two pictures by Paul Veronese, several by Bassan, and a Judith, by Tintoret, are seen with pleasure in the same chamber. The next apartment contains a few by Leuca Giordano, among which are a dying Seneca; three or four of the school of Rubens; and Isaac blessing Jacob, whom he takes for Esau, by Spagnoletto. The dining room of the prince of Asturias is in like manner hung with pictures; there are several by Murillo and Spagnoletto, a few by Titian, two by Teniers, and

particularly two admirable pieces by Valasquez, one of which represents the forge of Vulcan, the other a Spanish general, to whom the keys of a city are surrendered. —In the adjoining apartments, among a great number of paintings of the first masters, are an adoration by Rubens, and a carrying of the cross by Raphael, which alone are worth a collection. In the first Rubens has displayed all the magic of his pencil, his richness of drapery, and all the magnificence of composition. It is impossible not to be struck by the noble air and grandeur of one of the kings. His carriage, attitude, and retinue, seem to announce him commissioned by the universe to congratulate its divine author upon an event of such importance to all mankind; he seems to command at once respect, admiration, and devotion.

The painting of Raphael inspires sentiments more affecting though not less profound. The Saviour of the world sinking beneath the weight of his cross rather than that of his grief, and preserving in the midst of his persecutors, who force him along and ill treat him, a resignation and serenity which would disarm cruelty itself, appears less concerned for his own sufferings than earnest in endeavouring to console his afflicted mother, who strives to soften his persecutors, and the supplicating women who are overwhelmed with grief. This sublime conception penetrates the coldest hearts with the august truths of religion, and preaches them in a more eloquent manner than that in which they have ever been delivered from the mouths of sacred orators. The impression which results from these two great compositions, renders the mind almost insensible to the beauties of other paintings near them, in which Titian, Vandyck, and Raphael himself have displayed less affecting ideas. A tribute of admiration must however be paid to two masterpieces of Corregio, one of which represents our Saviour in the garden of olives, and the other the Virgin, dressing the child Jesus.

Paintings of a different kind in the apartments that

were inhabited by the Infanta, daughter to Charles III. receive a different homage.* In the first chamber, one by Giordano, in imitation of Rubens, presents the painter himself, working at the portrait of a princess; there are also several voluptuous paintings of this master of the Flemish school: a combat of gladiators, in which the vigour of Laufranc's pencil is easily discovered; and a capital piece by Poussin, the subject of which forms a singular contrast to the devotional paintings of which we have already spoken. This is a dance formed by a troop of nymphs about the statue of the god of gardens; the variety of their attitudes, all expressive and graceful, their easy shape, and the beauty of their form, all breathe the pleasures of youth and love; some crown with garlands the statue of the lacivious god, others——But we will draw a veil over this part of the painting, which the modesty of the painter has purposely placed in the shade.

The adjoining apartments are filled with paintings of lesser merit, if we except a grand composition by Paul Veronese, and a piece by Lanfranc, the figures of which although a little tinctured with grimace, discover in them the vigorous and energetic touch of the painter. The dining-room of the Infanta is highly embellished by the indefatigable pencil of Luca Giordano, whose fertile imagination at first astonishes, but afterwards becomes fatiguing. In a cabinet adjoining to the dining-room are also some pieces by Rubens; for this painter, who was twice in Spain, left there, perhaps, more productions of his brilliant and easy pencil, than any where else. This cabinet contains likewise one of the best portraits Titian ever produced; a half-length of Charles V. reaching to below the knees. An engraving was

* She was the princess who died towards the end of the year 1801, and whose polished and benevolent mind caused her to be generally regretted.

made from it some years since, by a young engraver of Madrid, named Selena.

The apartments of the infanta contain as great a number of admirable paintings as those already mentioned; some are by Murillo, and several by Rubens, which abound in fire and expression. With these I shall conclude my list, lest I should fatigue my readers with a barren catalogue; it is sufficient to remind them, that according to the opinion of those who have seen the different collections of the sovereigns of Europe, there is no one which is superior to that in the palace of Madrid, either with respect to choice or number.

It is true there are but few paintings of the French school, but the best productions of those of Italy, Flanders, and Spain, are found in abundance; those of the latter especially, less known than the two others, although of equal merit, are worthy of all the attention of connoisseurs; they perhaps may not excel in nobleness of form, or in grace, but whoever has seen the productions of Spagnoletto, Valasquez, and Murillo, both at Madrid and in the Escurial, cannot but admit that the Spanish school is not inferior to any other in correctness of design, the art of perspective, and especially in the vivid carnation of its colouring.

The chapel of the palace contains nothing remarkable of this kind, but its architectural proportions are exact and beautiful; and what more particularly contributes to its decoration, are sixteen columns of black marble, which extend to the frieze. It is to be regretted, that in order to procure this number, the eight blocks which were whole, have been perpendicularly sawn. However, as by their position they were not to stand without support, they are placed against the wall, in which they seem to be half sunk.

The palace of Madrid is entirely new. That which Philip V. inhabited, having been burned in the year 1734, the monarch wished to have it rebuilt upon

the same foundation. An architect, from Piedmont, laid before him a most magnificent plan, the model of which is preserved in a neighbouring building. Philip V. was deterred by the expense necessary to carry the plan into execution, and adopted one more simple. But it is to be regretted that the palace, in its present state, cost as much as that of the Italian architect would have done, and yet it is not finished. They have already been more than twelve years in building two wings to it, which will give to the whole a more majestic form, but must hide the principal front in such a manner as to render it inaccessible, except from a great square that can never be made regular, without an enormous expense. At the end of the square is a large edifice, not sufficiently seen, which contains a curious collection of ancient and foreign arms, arranged with great order, and carefully preserved. This is called the Armeria, or arsenal. The most remarkable things here are neither scymeters set with diamonds, nor complete sets of armour, not even that of St. Ferdinand; but those of ancient American warriors. A long enumeration of all these curiosities is carefully made to the traveller, when he is admitted into the arsenal, for which he must have an order from the grand equerry, and if he be a Frenchman, even the sword worn by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, is not forgotten. Neither Philip V. nor Ferdinand VI. ever resided in the new palace of Madrid; Charles III. came not to it until some years after his arrival in Spain. These three monarchs had confined themselves to that inhabited by the Austrian family, in which Philip II. endeavoured to overturn the system of Europe, whence Philip VI. calmly saw his vast empire dismembered, where the weak Charles II. learned that the powers of Europe previously divided it as a vacant heritage, where the famous princess des Ursins played off and repelled the intrigues to which she at length became a victim, and whence Philip V. sent armies into Italy to conquer the Par-

mesan and the kingdom of Naples, and in which he died. I mean the palace known to foreigners by the name of Buen Retiro.

This palace is situated upon an eminence, at the extremity of the city. Never had a royal mansion less the appearance of a palace. It is a very irregular building, and exhibits nothing majestic in any one point of view. It contains, however, a long suite of apartments, which, at a small expense, might be made habitable. The gardens into which they have a view are neglected. The want of water, and the nature of the soil render them little susceptible of the embellishment. There are a few statues worthy of the attention of the curious; that of Charles V. trampling upon a monster, which is supposed to be the emblem of heresy; and an equestrian statue of Philip IV. by an able sculptor of Florence. The palace of Retiro contained also many valuable pictures: but the greatest part of them have been removed to the new palace. Some very valuable pieces however still remain; a few by Rubens, several by Giordano, and portraits of princes and princesses of the two last families. The most remarkable piece is that called the Cason, not on account of the rich gilding with which it is overloaded, but because all the pannels of the inner balcony are painted in fresco by the fertile pencil of Luca Giordano. The ceiling is one of the noblest paintings of this artist. It represents allegorically the institution of the order of the golden-fleece.

I shall mention only two other paintings in this palace. One of Philip V. seated by the side of his wife, Isabella of Farnese, and surrounded by all his family of both sexes. The monarch is forgotten; nothing appears but the good father of a family. It is extremely affecting to see, united in the same piece, so many princes and princesses, who have had an influence on the destiny of Europe, and who, laying aside the splendour of majesty, seem to be wholly em-

ployed in enjoying the happiness of seeing themselves assembled. Charles Vanloo, perhaps, erred in displaying too much magnificence in the decoration of the hall. The figures he has painted have a paleness from the too brilliant colour of the furniture.

The other picture is less remarkable from the merit of its composition than from the scene it presents. This is a faithful representation of the solemn *Auto da fé*, which was celebrated in 1680, in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid, in the presence of the whole court of Charles II. It is equal to an exact description of this festival, the last of the kind which has been celebrated in Spain. The balconies appear full of spectators, excited equally by devotion and curiosity. The fatal tribunal is raised in the middle of the square. The judges there wait for their victims, who, pale and disfigured, covered with melancholy emblems of the torments prepared for them, go to hear their sentence. Some receive the last exhortation of the monks, others tremble, stagger, and faint upon the steps of the tribunal, and all shew greater marks of terror than of repentance. How many reflections must naturally rush on the mind of the spectator; I pass them over in silence, because I have forbidden myself all declamation. But let us now turn our attention from these afflicting objects, and direct it to the temple of Thalia.

The theatre of Buen Retiro is still in good preservation; the house is small but well contrived. The stage which is spacious, opens at the bottom into the gardens of the palace, with which it is on a level, this was frequently favourable to theatrical magic, in extending the perspective and permitting the display of bodies of troops and sometimes a train of cavalry. All these illusions are vanished; the theatre is deserted, and its decorations are covered with dust. In the reign of Ferdinand VI. it resounded with the most harmonious voices; it is now condemned to silence, which for thirty years has been but once interrupted.

This was at the marriage of the present queen. Thus do courts change their appearance according to the taste of the sovereign. That of Ferdinand VI. brilliant and ostentatious, naturalized in Spain the fairy scenes of the Italian theatre under the direction of Farinelli the musician, who, through his talents, obtained a distinguished favour, at which no person murmured, because no person suffered by it, and because that he modestly enjoyed without abusing his good fortune: under Charles III. Euterpe and Terpsichore lost their influence; that monarch, more simple in his manners, more uniform in his taste, and insensible to profane pleasures, banished them from his residence, and confined himself to the protection of the silent arts, the sciences, and virtue. His favour, still better placed than that of his predecessor, neither irritated the envious nor gave offence to the weak. Charles IV. less austere than his father, is not an enemy to pleasure, but he enjoys it without pomp. He also has the credit of employing scarcely any persons but Spaniards about his court.

The gardens of Buen Retiro are at present a public walk. The monarch has established there a China manufactory, which hitherto strangers have not been permitted to examine. It is undoubtedly intended that experiments should be secretly made, and the manufacture brought to some perfection, before it is exposed to the eyes of the curious. Its productions are to be seen no where except in the palace of the sovereign, or in some Italian courts, to which they have been sent as presents. Certain kinds of inlaid work not yet much known in Europe are wrought in the same edifice. I entered one day, under the protection of a foreigner of distinction, in whose favour the king had for a moment suspended the rigorous prohibition which excludes every one. I observed with what patience and address several small pieces of coloured marble were cut and joined, to form pleasing and not a little complicated figures. This art, whilst it produces nearly the same effect as painting, has the advantage of

having, by its everlasting colours, overcome the ravages of time, which spare not the finest productions of the pencil. The gardens of the Retiro are in other respects little ornamented, and almost abandoned. In recompense, however, Charles III. richly embellished the environs*.

This ancient palace commands a public walk, which has long been famous in Spanish comedy and romance: at first, indeed, these alone were what gave it celebrity. There was nothing remarkable in the place itself; its reputation rose from what passed in it. Measures were there concerted to deceive the vigilance of a mother, or the jealousy of a husband. The courtiers, escaped from the presence of the monarch, perhaps came thither to watch a rival, prepare a plot, or disconcert an intrigue. The proximity of the palace, the obscurity and inequality of the ground were all favourable to these purposes: the Prado was a rendezvous equally convenient to ambition and malignity, but more particularly so to love; those who appeared there had generally some sinister design, or encountered some hazard: but Charles III. by levelling it, planting it with trees, admitting more light into the alleys, ornamenting it with statues and vases, and providing water to allay the dust, made it a most elegant walk, which may be frequented in all seasons with safety and pleasure. It forms a part of the interior inclosure of the city, and is in length about the space of half a league. Several of the principal streets terminate here. That of Alcala, the widest in Europe, crosses it, runs by the side of the gardens of the Retiro, and terminates at the gate of the same name, which is one of the finest pieces of architecture in the capital, and built in the present reign, in 1778. The inhabitants from all quarters resort hither on foot, or in carriages to meet and breathe beneath the shade of the long alleys, an air freshened by waters spouted from the fountains, and embalmed by exhalations from the fragrant flowers. The concourse of people is frequently

prodigious. I have sometimes seen four or five hundred carriages filing off in the greatest order, amid an innumerable crowd of spectators, a spectacle which at once is a proof of great opulence and population. But a better taste in the carriages might be wished for, and a greater diversity for the eye. Instead of that motley appearance of dresses, which in other public places of Europe afford a variety, without which there would be no pleasure, there is nothing seen in the Prado but women uniformly dressed, covered with great black and white veils which conceal a part of their features; and men enveloped in their great mantles, mostly of a dark colour; so that the Prado, with all its beauty, seems to be the theatre of Castilian gravity.

The botanical garden adds not a little to the embellishment of the Prado. For several years it was under the direction of the learned Cavanilles, who died in 1803. It was formerly upon the road which leads from Madrid to the castle of Prado; but Charles III. some years ago removed it to the side of the Prado with a low inclosure, by which it is ornamented without being hidden. This monarch endeavoured to make it one of the most precious collections of the kind, by laying under contribution all the vegetable kingdom of his dominions, some part of which it has been long said, is perpetually warmed by the rays of the sun, and which in such different soils and climates must alone produce every kind of tree, shrub, and plant, which grows on the bosom of the earth.

While viewing the Prado I have frequently given to this idea the greatest possible latitude; I have even extended it to the animal kingdom; I have allotted in imagination all the space which the botanical garden leaves vacant by the side of the walk to a destination certainly extraordinary in Europe, and which the monarch of Spain only could be capable of carrying into effect. I divided it into as many parts as this sovereign has principal colonies under his dominion; in these I settled, in supposition, a family of

Peruvians, another of Mexicans, another from California, another from Louisiana, another from Paraguay, from Buenos Ayres, the coast of Caracas, from Porto Rico, from Cuba, from the Canaries, and the Philippines. All to preserve their peculiar dress and manner of living, to erect a simple habitation upon the model of that they had quitted; to cultivate the plants brought from their own country; so that, surrounded by these pleasing illusions, they might still suppose themselves in their native soil. Here the Mexican would be seen beneath the shade of his fig-tree, shaking it and gathering the precious spoils which colour our European garments; there the inhabitant of Guatimala would cultivate his indigo; and he of Paraguay the herb which constitutes his principal riches; the native of Soconusco would attempt to naturalize his valuable cocoa-tree in a foreign soil; the Peruvian, accompanied by the docile animal, which partakes of his labours, feeds and clothes him; would in concert with the Luconian endeavour to introduce the same cultivation they had been accustomed to at home. Thus the exulting inhabitant of the metropolis, without going from the capital, might pass in review, as if delineated on a map, all the colonies to which his sovereign gives laws. The transported colonist would become accustomed to an exile, which every thing would concur to render agreeable; and his fellow-citizens, separated from him by immense seas, informed by him of the benevolence and magnificence of their common monarch, would form a higher idea of his power, pride themselves upon being his subjects, and become more attached to his government. Who knows but these first essays would make them form a more favourable opinion in general of the mother country? That in accustoming themselves to see in the Spaniards of the old world, their countrymen, instead of their oppressors, they would not strive to approach them nearer? and that Spain formerly depopulated by her colonies would be

repeopled by them, or at least in this community, acquire new securities for their love and fidelity.

Such a project may be considered as romantic, Charles III. yet entered upon one of the same kind, which proved his zeal for the advancement of the arts and sciences. In the street of the Alcala is a large building in which the king established a cabinet of natural history, which was first committed to the direction of Don Pedro Davila, who died between the period of my first and second journey; he was succeeded by Don Eugenio Izquierdo who was one we have seen at Paris, who, and by indefatigable zeal and knowledge did much towards its success. The cabinet now contains one of the completest collections in Europe in metals, minerals, marble, precious stones, corals, madrepores, and marine plants.

The classes of fishes, of birds, and especially of quadrupeds, are yet very incomplete; but the measures taken by government will, in a little time make them equal to the others. The viceroys, governors, intendants, and other officers of the Spanish colonies received orders some years ago to enrich the cabinet with all the productions which should offer to their researches in the three kingdoms; and the intelligence and activity of the minister who then presided over the department of the Indies, gave the most flattering hopes to the lovers of these sciences that the orders would be faithfully executed. The minister, just before our revolution, received an ample contribution from Peru: this was half the rich collection made during an eight years residence in that country by M. Dombey, an able naturalist, whom the court of France, with the consent of that of Spain, had sent thither, and whom the patrons of the sciences received upon his return with all that respect which talents, accompanied by modesty, must inspire. He left at Peru several Spanish naturalists, who were soon to follow him, and whose learned researches did not fail greatly to enrich the cabinet of natural

history at Madrid. But Dombey made another voyage, with the same object, when, being taken by the English, he died in prison, at the little isle of Montserrat.

The same edifice that contains this cabinet, and which with the custom-house, built also by Charles III. constitutes the principal ornament of the street of the Alcala, and is the place of meeting for the academy of the fine arts; a circumstance which produced the inscription on the building, a motto equally happy and just.

Carolus III. naturam et artem sub uno tecto in publicam utilitatem consociavit. M.DCC.LXXIV.

The honour of instituting this academy is, however, due to Philip V.; but it has received great encouragement from his two successors. The minister of foreign affairs is president, and every three years distributes premiums to the young students who have produced the best pieces in sculpture or painting, and the best plans and designs in architecture. But though there are several members who have distinguished themselves in these three arts, it must be confessed that their works of real excellence are yet but very few in number, I was twice present at the distribution of these premiums, and cannot but confess that they ought rather to be looked upon as encouragements than merited rewards. The Spaniards are too just to expect unlimited encomiums; their pride would indignantly refuse the degrading homages of adulation. They, however, maintain at Rome young students, who give the most flattering hopes.

It is not only by forming artists that the academy contributes to the progress of the arts in Spain, it is also the supreme tribunal to whose decision the plans of all the sacred and profane edifices erected in the kingdom are to be submitted; an institution which, in the end, must establish fine tastes upon the ruins

of that barbarity which is but too visible in most of the edifices of former times, and of which traces still remain in some of the gates, in the ancient fountains, and in most of the churches of the capital; deformed efforts of art, then in its infancy, which took more pains to bring forth monstrous productions than would be necessary at present, to produce works of transcendent merit. Modern edifices already prove the revolution that has taken place, under the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. Besides the new palace of Madrid, we may instance the gates of the Alcala and St. Vincente, the custom-house, and the post-office; and particularly a fine edifice which extends along the Prado, and which was begun about ten years ago. It is intended for a museum for the reception of the cabinet of natural history, and the meetings of the different scientific academies;—except these, there are but few buildings which merit attention from the traveller.

Madrid is in general well laid out; the streets, although not in a direct line, are for the most part wide, and tolerably straight. The infrequency of rain, and the vigilance of the modern police, for which it is indebted to the count d'Aranda, make it one of the cleanest cities in Europe. But except the Prado, and its avenues, the city has no elegant quarters to boast. The famous Plaza Mayor, which the Spaniards take so much pleasure to extol, has nothing in it which justifies their enthusiasm; it is quadrangular, but at the same time irregular, surrounded by buildings of five and six stories, sufficiently uniform, but without decoration, under which are long arcades. It is illuminated on public occasions, and then it really has an agreeable appearance. The auto da fés were formerly celebrated in this square, with all their terrible apparatus. It is still the theatre of bull-fights, which are given at the royal feasts. The hotel de ville, or town-house, is in this square, in which several academies hold their assemblies. This con-

currence of circumstances has made it the most remarkable public place in the capital, and has given it a reputation which, at the time it was first built, was perhaps deserved, but which must have vanished since architecture has improved in Europe, and produced forty squares preferable to the Plaza Mayor. It has, however, been much disfigured by the fire, which happened about nine years ago, and which destroyed nearly the whole of one of its sides. It is also much deteriorated by a crowd of shops, which impede the general passage. Nevertheless, in other respects, this, with the adjacent streets, is the quarter which gives the most favourable idea of the population of Madrid; and if we judge of it by this specimen, we shall not find the calculation which twenty years ago made it amount to one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants exaggerated. Doctor Moncada, who wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century, complained of the depopulation of this city, which, according to him, contained no more than four hundred thousand inhabitants. Ustaviz, whose work was written at the beginning of the last century, and which is quoted by the Spaniards, for the exactness of its calculations, assigns to Madrid only a hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. A late estimate by Don Thomas Lopez, only stated it at 130,980, exclusive, however, of the garrisons and the different hospitals. According to the same writer, Madrid contains 7,100 houses, 77 churches, 44 convents of monks, and 31 nunneries. A circumstantial account of this capital appeared in the year 1797, and a new table of the population down to the end of 1797, was published two or three years ago, by order of the government. It was drawn up under the inspection of Count Florida Blanca, and the result will be as follows:

The Spanish government having, in 1768, caused a survey of the population to be made, had reason to believe it incorrect, the people having kept back, from

the idea that it was intended to levy some new tax upon them. The tables on that occasion only gave 9,159,999 souls, while a new estimate, which took place in 1787, which was made with more rigour, gave 10,268,150, making a difference of 1,108,151. The severity of the government also produced effects still more extraordinary. In 1787, there were found to be 11,044 religious persons of both sexes less than in 1768; 17,213 ecclesiastics, or persons belonging to the clergy; 6829 individuals attached to the monastical orders, or the crusade; and 242,205 hidalgos, or nobles, making a total of 277,291 persons; who, by usurping titles, and making false declarations, were placed amongst the privileged classes, and were thereby exempt from personal service.

In 1768, the enumeration was made by dioceses; but in 1787, it was made by intendancies, or provinces. The difference between the two statements will be evident, from the following tables:

	Result of the Enumeration of 1768.	Result of that of 1787.
No. of bachelors and widows - - -	2,809,069	3,162,007
of girls and widows	2,911,858	3,215,482
of married persons	3,439,072	3,891,661
Total	9,159,999	10,269,150
No. of towns, boroughs, and villages - - -	16,427	18,716
of parishes - -	18,106	18,972
of vicars and others, holding benefices - -	51,048	42,70
of convents of monks -	2,004	2,019
of convents of nuns - -	1,026	1,048
of monks - -	55,453	57,515
of nuns - -	27,665	24,559
of persons connected with the clergy - -	26,248	16,396

	Result of the Enumeration of 1768.	Result of that of 1787.
No. of sundries of the religious orders - -	8,552	4,127
of members of the military tribunal - - .	89,393	77,884
of persons receiving pensions or salaries from the king	27,577	36,465
of dependants upon the crusade - -	4,248	1,844
of dependants upon the inquisition - -	2,645	2,705
of hidalgos or nobles -	722,794	480,589

It will be seen by this table what a great disproportion the numb rs of the different professions bore to each other, at the respective periods.

There were ound to be 145 towns, having titles of crusades.

4,572 wns which only bore the name of villas.
12,732 villages.
907,197 husbandmen.
964,571 journeymen, or day labourers.
270,989 artisans.
280,092 domestics.
50,994 students.
39,750 manufacturers.

By this investigation the respective population of each of the provinces are ascertained; and it was discovered that the resources afforded by a vicinity to the sea, owing, perhaps to the nature of the food which it supplied, were, when accompanied by a fertile soil, sufficient to counterbalance the inconveniences of a bad administration: for Galicia, of which more than one half is possessed by the clergy,—Galicia, without canals or navigable rivers, and almost without roads, having no industry but the manufacture of her cloths, but possessing a soil capable of every sort of cultivation, and having the sea on two

sides, and not being afflicted with the plague called the mesta, is beyond comparison the most populous province in Spain. In 1787, there were reckoned 1,345,803 men; and in Catalonia, the people of which are much more industrious, with nearly twice as great a surface of land, only contained 814,412; Arragon, only 623,308, and Estramadura, the surface of which is one-fourth greater than that of Galicia, had no more than 417,000 inhabitants.

But let us return to Madrid, and merely add, that with respect to its population, this capital in general has a garrison of from six to ten thousand men, it being the resort of persons from all parts of Spain and South America, who have favours to ask of the government; so that it may not be an exaggeration to state its present regular population at 180,000 souls.

The sacred edifices of this city have nothing remarkable in their architecture; those of St. Pasqual, St. Isabella, and the Carmelites contain highly valuable collections of pictures which may be seen with admiration, even after the paintings of the Escurial, and the new palace!—The first-mentioned contains two by Titian, and several by Spagnoletto.

The church of St. Isidro, which heretofore belonged to the Jesuits, has a portal which has escaped the contagion of the age in which it was built. There is another church much more modern, which, on account of its mass, has a venerable appearance, but which true taste may justly disavow: it is that of St. Salefas, or the visitation, founded by Ferdinand VI. and the queen Barbara his wife. The ashes of this royal pair repose here, under a pompous mausoleum, the inscription of which appeared to me a model of the lapidary style; the Spaniards themselves have expressed their disapprobation of the whole edifice by these words: Barbara reyna, barbaro gasto; barbara obra; a play upon words that can have no meaning but in the Spanish language, in which the expression barbara is equally applied to the name of the foun-

dress, to the bad taste of the edifice, and to the enormous sum it cost in building. It has, however, one laudable object which should intitle it to more indulgence. A certain number of young ladies are there educated, at the king's expense.

The convent of St. Francis has already been some years building, and there are hopes that it will become one of the finest productions of architecture in the capital. What already appears of it seems to promise a solid rather than an elegant edifice. The church, in the form of a rotunda, was finished when I left Spain, for the first time: it was already decorated with many large pictures, several of which could not but increase the reputation of the Spanish school. The principal supporters of that school was then M. Maella and M. Bayeux, whose colouring and taste in drawing resemble the style of Mengs, and in some manner recompense the Spaniards for the loss of that great painter. The painters who have since contributed their efforts, are Don Antonio Valasquez, Don Celleja, Don Joseph Castello, and Don Francisco de Goya, who merits, by his talents, an honourable mention; he pourtrays in a pleasing style, the manners, customs, and games of his country. There are also several excellent engravers.

Don Salvador Carmona, married to the daughter of Mengs, who has in part inherited the fine pencil of her father, is deservedly to be placed at their head. M. Carmona is advantageously known in France, by several prizes gained in the academy of painting, but he is now the principal engraver in Spain. Were we to judge his works cirtically, it might be observed, that his talents too little, or at least too late, encouraged, have not produced what they at first promised. Several other engravers, Messieurs Ferro, Muntaner, Fabregat, Ballester, and especially M. Selma, have, by happy efforts, proved that their art still makes some progress in Spain.

The academy of the Spanish language, which is

the year 1780, gave an elegant edition of Don Quixote, enriched it with the embellishments of the graver. But the engravings, for the most part not above mediocrity, do not answer to the merit of the edition, equally admirable for the quality of the ink, the beauty of the paper, the clearness of the character, and to be compared with the finest productions of the kind in any other nation. This is not the first proof the Spainards have given of their ability in the art of printing. Every connoisseur is acquainted with, and prefers to the editions of Baskerville and Barbon, the Sallust, which the Infant Don Gabriel has translated into his own language, and some other works from the presses of Ibarra at Madrid, and from those of Benedict Montfort at Valencia, which are master-pieces of the typographical art, and will one day be sought after by posterity, as we now search for those of the Elzevirs.

But if the pleasing arts be cultivated at Madrid, the most useful of all, that of beneficence and charity is not neglected. Charitable foundations worthy to be models to every nation, are found in that city. There are three hospitals, which in the course of the year 1785, received 19,437 sick persons. Besides two hospitals, which relieve the unfortunate, there, is the mount of piety, which relieves the indigent with money, and which, between 1724 and 1794 has disbursed eleven millions of reals ; there is also a foundling hospital, called the Inclusa, which in 1803 contained 1300 individuals. The principal hospital near to, but on the outside of, the gate Alcala, has been lately rebuilt. It is a large edifice, which by no means disgraces the walk leading from this gate to the canal of Aranjuez, and which the Spaniards have estimated rather too highly in honouring it with the name of Delicias.

There are also other academies besides that of the fine arts. We can say but little of those of law and physic; but every one has heard of that of the Spa-

nish language, founded by Philip V. and which our French academy has considered, ever since its establishment, as its sister. The dictionary it has given to the public, is, according to the ablest grammarians, the completest that ever appeared in any language. The present academicians, more learned than their predecessors, and not less laborious, are preparing a new edition of it, which by the augmentations to be made, will give an idea of the richness of their language, and of the great extent of their researches.

The Spanish academy is composed but of twenty-four ordinary members; but the number of supernumeraries is not limited; the president is a grandee of Spain. Its late president was the marquis de Santa Cruz, whose learning was no less an honour to the society than his rank. He was tutor to the present king. At his death, he was succeeded by Don Pedro de Pilva, his brother, who was even more learned, and who has obtained the rank of perpetual director. It contains several poets, painters, and men of letters, for whom the chair has not that soporific virtue attributed to it elsewhere; and I know not one member who has been admitted from the vain motive of conferring an honour in a manner foreign to the end of its institution.

The academy of history had for its director the count de Campomanes, who, by the rank he held in the magistracy, as well as by his great erudition and virtues, was one of the most distinguished nobleman of modern Spain. The functions of his eminent station left him but little leisure to dedicate to the different academies of which he was a member, and he terminated his useful life in 1802.

This academy has, within these few years, published editions of several authors; among others, those of Mariana and Sepulveda. It has undertaken, and executed in part, an arduous task, that of publishing all the ancient chronicles relative to the his-

tory of Castile. Several of these works had never been printed; all are enriched with notes and commentaries, which at once prove the sound criticism and the erudition of their authors, the Abbé de Guevara, Don Francisco de Cerda, Don Miquel Florez, and Don Eugenio de Laguno, who, in the midst of the occupations of his place of first clerk in the office of foreign affairs, still finds some moments to dedicate to literature. The academy contains one of the most valuable collections of which a literary society can boast. This is all the diplomas, charters, and other documents given since the earliest period of the monarchy, to all the cities, boroughs, communities, churches, chapels, &c. in Spain, the whole collected with the greatest care, arranged in chronological order, and consequently adapted to furnish every branch of the Spanish history with the most abundant source of authentic materials. The collection greatly facilitates and encourages the learned researches of the academicians. It is in this immense repertory that they collect the elements of a work which for several years they have been preparing, I mean a geographical dictionary of Spain, which, by its correctness will be a worthy companion to the new dictionary of the language. One of the most learned among them, Don Juan Iriarte, who died in 1776, leaving behind him three nephews of distinguished abilities, published a first volume of the Greek manuscripts, in the library of Madrid; a continuation is expected from the librarians who are appointed to complete the work. To a member of the same academy, Father Florez, Spain is also indebted for several volumes of the ecclesiastical history of the nation, which in his hands was, in truth, only an irregular compilation of documents, become very scarce, or entirely unknown, but it has acquired a more pleasing form by the care of his continuator, Father Risco, an Augustin monk.

Several other writers, well acquainted with what

relates to their country, are employed in giving a clear history of it, and instructing their fellow citizens in matters of policy, and the science of government. They have naturalized in their language such French and English works as the Spanish orthodoxy would permit; those, for instance, which treat of trades and arts. They are at present translating two of the works of Linnæus, and the Natural History of M. de Buffon. When I was for the first time in Spain the French Dictionaire Encyclopédique, was undertaken to be translated by subscription; and those who believe that in that kingdom every person is subjected to the yoke of bigotry and fanaticism were not a little surprized to see the name of the grand inquisitor at the head of the list of subscribers; for it is to be remembered there was a very numerous list of subscribers for the new Encyclopédie, in numbers. But the writer of the article Spain, under the head of Geography, heated with national prejudices, without having any knowledge of the country otherwise than by vain declamations, or unfaithful relations, wantonly vilified a whole nation, which from its weight in the balance of Europe, its virtues, and intimate connexion with our own, he ought to have respected. The Spanish government, however, highly resented so unmerited an insult, and the French court determined to redress its complaints with all the warmth of friendship and the rigour of justice. The author, censor, and printer were severely reprimanded; and the publication of the new Encyclopédie was suspended by order of the court. The Spanish minister, however, though offended, was not implacable, he resented the affront, but would not exclude knowledge, and soon afterward revoked the suspension, at the same time taking measures to erase the errors and invectives from a work of which he knew the merit. Before the numbers are distributed to the subscribers, they are examined by the council of Castile. At the same time the court of Spain took

offence at the article abovementioned, a Spanish ecclesiastic at Paris undertook the apology of his country against the indiscreet author; but even his countrymen think that, led astray by his zeal, he carried the matter to another extreme. He is more prodigal of eulogiums than his adversary had been of contempt and reproaches. One had refused every merit; and the other bestowed every possible excellence. According to the latter, the Spaniards excel in every art and science. Thus passion, by exaggerating, sometimes injures the cause it means to defend. In this discussion, as in all others, reason seeks and finds the truth only in the just medium.

There are undoubtedly in Spain more learned men who modestly cultivate the sciences; more men of erudition who are thoroughly acquainted with the history and jurisprudence of their country; more distinguished men of letters and a great number of poets, who have energy and a fertile and brilliant imagination than is generally imagined. But according to the Spaniards themselves, the present state of letters and the sciences is far from what it was in the times of Mariana, Solis, Mendoza, Ambroise. Morales, Herrera, Saavedra, Sepulveda, Cervantes, Quevedo, Garcilaso, Calderon, Lopes de Vega, &c. &c.

The Spanish universities can no longer boast the reputation they formerly possessed; industry and population are much inferior to what they were under Ferdinand the Catholic, and his two successors. But the late government zealously and successfully employed itself in endeavouring to revive those happier times; nor has learning diminished under the reign of Charles IV. An establishment founded in 1796, sufficiently proves the effects of the government to establish useful knowledge. It is the society of Cosmographical Engineers, which is under the superintendance of the learned Don Ximenes Salvada. This body has already published several new maps of the coast and interior of Spain. Besides the academies of

which I have spoken, there is one at Madrid for the laws of Spain, another for the canon law, and a third for medicine. A taste for the arts and sciences has extended even to the provinces.

At Seville is an academy of belles-lettres, and a medical society; at Saragossa and Valencia an academy of arts; at Valladolid, one of geography; at Granada, one of mathematics and drawing; and at Barcelona, an academy of belles-lettres.

There were for a long time in Spain six great colleges (collegios mayores), into which none were admitted but young men of family, and from among whom persons qualified for every office of government were almost exclusively taken. The privileges they enjoyed became a source of abuse. They supported idleness and arrogance in the colleges, and discouraged other seminaries of education. Government struck at the root of the evil. In 1777, the colleges received a new form, from which the most happy effects are expected.

Education is nevertheless still imperfect in Spain, and the expulsion of the Jesuits has made it perhaps yet more so. At that period the inconvenience of confiding youth to the care of religious orders was, perhaps, too much magnified. That of the Piaristes, known in Spain by the name of Escolapios, is the only one which is still in the possession of some schools. Every where else, the place of the Jesuits has been supplied by professors, who may either be ecclesiastics or lay persons, but who form no collective body, nor reside under the same roof. The Jesuits, besides the property of the society, had foundations for different professorships. These were the only funds appropriated to the support of the new professors. They were sufficient for monks living in a community, but are very inadequate in the present state of things. Professorships so little lucrative cannot be sought after by persons eminent for learning and talents. The education of youth suffers therefore by the change,

and this is a circumstance of sufficient importance to deserve the attention of government. Much, however, has already been done for military education. The late king established a school for artillery at Segovia, a riding school at Ocanna, one of engineers at Carthagena, and another for tactics at Avila, whence it has since been removed to Port Santa Maria.

At the beginning of the last century, manufactures were greatly on the decline. The four sovereigns of the House of Bourbon have made efforts to revive them. There are manufactures of common cloths at Escaray in Biscay, at Bocairente, at Ontemente, and at Alcoy in the kingdom of Valencia, and at Grazalema in Andalusia; and we have already seen the encouragement given by the late sovereign Charles III. to the manufacture of fine cloths at Guadalaxara and Segovia. In the course of this work we shall have occasion to speak of several others, and it will be seen that those of silk in particular have engaged the attention of government. There is one for hats at Madrid, as also at Badajoz and Seville, and foreign manufactures already feel the competition: for there is this fatality in the present constitution of Europe, that no nation can prosper in any branch of commerce without being prejudicial to its neighbours. But in this struggle of jarring interests, murmurs are improper, and complaints useless. Nothing is just or efficacious but the efforts of industry, activity, and economy.

Spain also owes to the sovereigns of the House of Bourbon the few roads and canals she possesses. The government is well convinced how much the want of these is felt, and is taking every means to supply the deficiency. There are already fine roads in Biscay and Navarre; those which terminate in the capital announce the residence of a great monarch. Fine ones have been made between Aranjuez and Valencia; in Galicia, from the Corogne to Pontevedra; to the north of Castile, from Reynosa to the sea, and in

some other parts of the peninsula. But the able minister who presided over this department caused them to be carried on with that prudent slowness, which alone insures the success of expensive undertakings. His plans were however somewhat deranged by the war of that period, which, even when it is successful, causes an exchange of real and solid advantages for a little glory. This minister was more particularly attentive to improve and complete the principal road which interely crosses Spain from Bayonne to Cadiz, passing by Madrid. The advantage, unknown until within the last twenty-two years, of travelling in a post-chaise, the hundred leagues which separate the two last cities, is to be ascribed to him.

We have seen what has been done for the canal of Arragon. There is one now brought to Madrid, and which is intended to join the Mancanores to the Tagus, thus opening a communication between the capital and Aranjuez. The canal projected in Murcia has been found impracticable; the subscribers instead of the profits which their avidity grasped at, must content themselves with the interest the king pays them, and have, in the unimpeachable probity of the monarch, a sufficient security for their money.

In 1784, the government adopted a project much more brilliant and useful than that it was obliged to abandon; that of a canal, which beginning at the foot of the mountains of Guadarama, near the Escurial, proceeds to join the Tagus, afterwards the Guadina, and terminates at the Guadalquivir above Andujar, and which consequently will give new life and activity to the centre of Spain, the least populous, and most barren part of the kingdom. A Frenchman of abilities, named le Maur, gave in the plan, and was preparing to carry it into execution, but died soon afterwards. The impulse, however, was given, the money subscribed, and the estimate made. The undertaking is continued by the sons of le Maur, who inherit from their father all his plans, and a portion of his talents.

But that which more particularly contributes to the prosperity of Spain, is the modern institution of patriotic societies, known by the name of friends to the country. The example was given in Biscay; as was natural to expect in a province where industry and patriotism reign in every mind. It was soon followed by the other provinces, and by the capital, in which a patriotic society was established in 1775. At the end of the last year there were already forty-four. The name of these institutions indicates their aim. The members of which they are composed, encourage the progress of the arts and the agriculture and industry of their provinces. They propose questions relative to these objects, and give premiums to those who discuss them best. They awaken the industry of their fellow-citizens, animate their zeal, solicit their information, give encouragement to artisans, assistance and advice to the peasants, and cause the patriotic ardour, with which they are animated, to circulate through every class of citizens. Never did a laudable institution make more rapid progress, or produce more general effect. Those who never see the advancement of good but with an envious eye, or whose methodical supineness is disgusted with novelty, and those whose self-love is mortified by success to which they do not contribute, have endeavoured to throw ridicule upon these societies; they have pretended that the members talked much, but performed little: that they exaggerated their importance, and discussed trifles with pompous gravity. Undoubtedly they have not yet done every thing which may be done; their slender funds circumscribe their progress; but the great point was to rouze their country from its stupor, and to offer a stimulus to the talents of artists, and the labour of husbandmen; to excite their emulation by the prospect of fame, and their interest by the hope of gain. This is what the societies have already effected. The leisure and savings of peace enable government to furnish the means of increasing their beneficence. At the representations made by the

principals of these societies, their funds, which consist in a great measure of voluntary contributions, were increased to a stock which may be compared to that of Economats in France, the funds arising from the revenues of vacant benefices. The government, between the peace of 1783 and the war of 1793, devoted a part of its surplus revenue to this beneficial object; and also thought proper to dedicate to the encouragement of these societies a part of the revenues of the church, the vacant benefices of which the king enjoys for a certain time; Charles III. made the sacrifice without repugnance. In a less enlightened age such an employment of this property would have been called a profanation; the Spanish government, on the contrary, think that making it contribute to the prosperity of the state is to sanctify its use. The object of pious foundations was much less to bestow on ecclesiastics an opulence hurtful to the true interests of religion, than to provide for the wants of the poor, to banish poverty, and employ that idleness which necessarily increases indigence. These were the intentions of the founders, and this is the reasoning of a country which prejudice supposes to be still enslaved by the superstitious bigotry of the fourteenth century.

The patriotic societies have received other encouragements from government. Enlightened by them it has revived laws which had fallen into disuse. It has excluded such foreign merchandise as might be prejudicial to the national manufactures, and has procured to these such workmen as may improve and perfect them. These measures have already been prejudicial, and will become still more so, to other manufacturing and commercial nations; they may excite in them murmurs and alarm, they will undoubtedly reanimate their activity and vigilance, and cannot but be applauded by real patriots.

The patriotic society of Madrid is distinguished rom the others only by the more immediate protec-

tion of government, and by its situation, which gives it a greater facility of acquiring information and assistance. It has, perhaps, fewer objects, on which to exercise its zeal, because that the productions of New Castile, in the centre of which it is placed, are less various than those of the other provinces, and because that its industry is more confined. But it is attentive to the improvement of agriculture in the environs of Madrid, and to furnish the children of both sexes and the poor of that capital with employment. A perfect equality is the most sacred law of all these societies; rank is unknown in them; the archbishop of Toledo and the duke of Medina Celi may there be placed by the side of an artisan, and information is collected from whatever source it may come.

As Madrid is the chief centre of arts and sciences, so is it that of government. Although the monarch resides there but a few weeks in the year, and his ministers are always near his person, this city is the seat of government, and of the supreme tribunals. We shall take a view of them all: and this will naturally lead us to speak of the laws, religion, finances, and military force of Spain.

The council of Castile holds the first rank among the councils and tribunals of the kingdom; there is nothing in France which can be compared to it: it is at once a council of administration which has the inspection of all the interior operations of government, and a sovereign tribunal that has an exclusive cognizance of certain causes, and in certain cases receives appeals from the other tribunals.

The council of Castile is composed of five chambers. The first, the sala de Govierno, which is confined to the affairs of administration; it also receives references accompanied with necessary forms, brought to the council in extraordinary cases, but it is only to send them to the second sala de Govierno, or to the sala de Justicia, according to circumstances.

The second sala de Govierno judges some of the

causes brought before the council of Castile by extraordinary references; but its chief occupation is in matters relative to the manufactures, bridges, banks, and causeways of the kingdom.

The chamber of Mil y quinientos, or of one thousand five hundred, thus called because those who appeal to it from the sentences and judgments of the sovereign tribunals are obliged to deposit fifteen hundred ducats, which they forfeit in case of losing the appeal.

The sala de Justicia has an exclusive cognizance of certain causes, the particulars of which would be uninteresting, and perhaps unintelligible, to most of our readers; and for the judgment of capital causes of certain description this chamber is united to the others.

The sala de Provincia judges the appeals in all important cases, and receives those from the judgments of the two lieutenants civil of Madrid (tenientes de villa) and from those of the alcaldes de corte in civil affairs.

These form a sixth chamber. The city of Madrid is divided into a certain number of quarters, and the police of each is superintended by an alcalde de corte: who judges in the first instance, in concurrence with the lieutenants civil, all the causes brought by the citizens of his quarter. Their decisions may be appealed from to the whole chamber assembled, which alone can finally pronounce upon criminal causes within its jurisdiction. It is in extraordinary cases only that they are carried before the council of Castile.

The chamber of the Alcaldes de Casa y Corte was formerly the tribunal which always accompanied the court of Spain. Since this is understood to be fixed at Madrid, the tribunal has been fixed there also; and as it formerly had a provincial jurisdiction near the residence of the sovereign, it has still preserved such a jurisdiction to a certain distance from the ca-

pital. The council of Castile is the only one acknowledged by the grandees of Spain, and all its members have the right of committimus, like those of the old French parliaments.

Spain is divided into two chanceries, those of Granada and Valladolid, which have an exclusive cognizance of certain causes. Their decisions are not appealed from to the council of Castile, except in two cases, when the appellants address themselves to the chamber of Mil y quinientos, or upon a denial of justice called Recursos de Fuerza. Each chancery has a particular chamber, called Sala de Hijosdalgo, or chamber of nobles. Its office is to authenticate nobility, and to hear causes relative thereto. It has also an exclusive cognizance of criminal causes of the Hidalgos.

Besides these there are eight audiences, without reckoning the particular tribunal of Navarre, which has the title of Royal Council, as some of the provinces of France had, instead of a parliament, a sovereign council. The four audiences of the crown of Arragon are those of Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Majorca; and of the crown of Castile those of Seville, Corogne, Oviedo, and the Canaries.

Each chancery and each audience has a criminal court, sale de Crimen, which definitively pronounces criminal sentences, and causes them to be executed.

Except a few restrictions, these tribunals are equally sovereign. The principal difference between the chanceries and the audiences is, that the first act in the king's name like the council of Castile. There are also some cases in which appeals lie from the audiences of Corogne and Oviedo to the chancery of Valladolid, and from the audience of Serville to the chancery of Granada. But from the four audiences of the crown of Arragon the appeal (in certain cases) is immediately made to the council of Castile, where the causes in question must be determined according to the laws of Arragon.

The limits of these different jurisdictions are not clearly enough defined to prevent frequent contests between the courts. Whilst the council of Castile loses no opportunity of extending its jurisdictions, the chanceries and audiences incessantly struggle against it to support their supreme authority. The council of Navarre alone had preserved its authority unimpaired, until lately, when some of the causes brought before it were carried by appeal to the council of Castile. Unless in cases of appeal, which are rare exceptions to the general rule, there is no resource against the decisions of all the sovereign tribunals, but revision, which in Spain is called supplica. Appeals, in that case, are made to the tribunal itself, praying it to begin the process anew.

The heads of the chanceries are called presidents, and those of the audiences regents.

The head of the council of Castile has the title of president or governor; these two dignities differ but little, except in honorary distinctions. The president of the council of Castile must always be a grandee of Spain. When he appears in public he has particular privileges. The count d'Aranda was the last person who filled this place, and as he held that of captain-general of all Castile, and possessed firmness and talents, he exercised it with an authority which yielded only to that of the sovereign. Various reasons induced him to resign this place to become ambassador in France, where he was preceded by his great reputation, and where he enjoyed, during sixteen years, from 1773, that respect to which on so many accounts he is entitled.

The office of president of the council of Castile had been revived, after a long interruption, in the person of the count, in one of those critical moments when men of genius become necessary. He discharged the duties of it during seven years, with all the energy and wisdom by which he was characterized. Madrid will for a long time exhibit proofs

of what he effected for its embellishment, security, and convenience, even during his short administration. It was to his care and prudence that Spain owes the expulsion of the Jesuits, prepared with the greatest secrecy, and executed without tumult.

The dissipated and frequently licentious lives of the monks were reformed, and their manners rendered more suitable to their profession. The abuses of the asylum which the greatest criminals found in the churches were suppressed. The sovereign authority was placed above the reach of the pretensions of the holy see; bounds were set to the exterior practices of religion, more favourable to idleness than devotion; and in some respects, as we shall hereafter find, the power of fanaticism was subjected to controul. The functions of the place of president of the council of Castile were never so actively discharged as during his administration. Since his resignation that title has been conferred on no one; he was succeeded by a sensible and moderate ecclesiastic, M. de Figueroa, who had only the title of governor of the council of Castile, and who died whilst I was first in Spain. He was succeeded by the count de Campomanes, as oldest member of the council, who discharged the functions of governor without having the title, and by his long services, knowledge, and integrity, was in every respect worthy to be at the head of the magistracy of his country. But when I returned in 1792, I found the place in the possession of the count de Cifuentes, who died in that year, and who, up to the present epoch, has had four successors, each of whom bore the title of governor.

The oldest members of this council, form what is called in Spain the Camara. It is properly the privy council of the monarch, and at the same time a sovereign tribunal for certain causes, such as all which have relation to the right of patronage, the successions of persons of the royal family, and all contests relative to the rights of cities (ciudades) which differ from

villas, the former having a particular jurisdiction, as being represented in the cortes of the kingdom.*

The Camara is also the council which issues all acts or patents of royal favour. All places in the magistracy, and all consistorial benefices are conferred by its means. It recommends to his majesty, through the medium of his minister of favour and justice, three persons to fill them, and the king chooses one of the three.

No place in the magistracy is venal in Spain. This, like all human institutions, has its advantage and inconvenience. If it leaves a greater opening to caprice, favour, and intrigue, it prevents the tribunals from being dishonoured by incapacity and ignorance, and diminishes the temptation to sell that justice of which the right of dispensing is bought. It is true that the integrity of magistrates frequently without fortune must appear suspicious, and that their moderate fees seem but a weak rampart against corruption. However, notwithstanding the declamations of dissatisfied clients, iniquitous and partial judges are not more common in Spain than in other countries, whether it be that they are better watched, or that the generosity natural to the Spanish nation secures them from all temptation.

There is a kind of gradation in the Spanish magistracy of which the degrees are easily traced. All the members of the camara are ancient counsellors of Castile; these seldom obtain their places without having been presidents of a chancery or an audience, or at least ancient counsellors of one of the tribunals, or alclade de corte. In the same manner it is from among the advocates, corregidors, or alcaldes mayores, that the latter are chosen It is here necessary to give some account of these magistrates, of whose

* Madrid is only a villa, yet it is represented in the Cortes like the ciudades. But this is the only exception.

offices foreigners in general have but a very confused idea.

First there are two classes of simple alcaldes,* who are established in the cities, boroughs, and villages. The alcalde ordinario judges in the first instance, when there is no corregidor, but in places where there is one, has cognizance in civil causes in concurrence with him, whilst the latter acts alone in matters of police and administration. The alcalde pedaneo, who is commonly taken from among the common people, has no functions but those of arresting delinquents, and executing the orders of the corregidor, or the alcalde mayor. The simple alcaldes are differently appointed, according to the privileges of the cities, boroughs, and villages in which they reside. In some places chance decides, in others they are named by the council of Castile, the tribunal of the province, or the lord of the manor, who chooses one from three persons proposed to him. They are changed every year.

The alcaldes mayores, or corregidors, which differ in title only, are all named by the king upon the presentation of the camara. This inferior degree of magistracy was formerly under very improper regulations, which government has lately reformed. The place of corregidor was bestowed on persons of small fortune, who frequently expended their whole property in soliciting the promotion. After having succeeded, they held their places three years, when their office expired, and they were again obliged to have recourse to new solicitations. How could it be hoped, that men scarcely escaped from want, and upon the brink of relapsing into their former indigence, would

* These different species of alcaldes are usually confounded by foreigners. Not to distingush an alcalde pedaneo from an alcalde de corte is the same as supposing a sheriff's officer and a magistrate upon the bench to be equal in rank and authority.

not be violently tempted to insure to themselves resources at the expense of those over whom they possessed a transient authority? It was necessary to preserve the subjects of the king from their rapacity, and these magistrates themselves from temptation. Men virtuous from a love of virtue, and who firmly refuse to commit evil, even when they can perpetrate it with advantage and impunity, are rare in every country; and the corregidors but too frequently confirmed this melancholy truth. The count of Florida Blanca, when minister of favour and justice, had the almost unexampled courage to adopt the measures projected by his predecessor and the count de Campomanes; measures which might excite the emulation of the corregidors, and enable and encourage them to be honest. He procured that for the future they should continue in office six years instead of three; that there should be three classes of corregimientos; that they should pass from one class to another, after having well discharged the duties of their first place: that their emoluments should be increased at every removal; and that having just gone through the three classes to the satisfaction of his majesty, they should have what in Spain is called the honours of togado, that is, the title and prerogatives annexed to the place of counsellor of the superior tribunals, whether their acknowledged merit was rewarded by one of these places, or that they continued to occupy the corregimientos of the first class. This plan was conceived by M. de Campomanes, and put in execution by M. Florida Blanca when he was appointed minister of favour and justice.

Besides the three classes of corregidors, there is one of another kind; those of Madrid and Seville, two cities in which the magistracy is peculiar and distinct. The corregidors are for life, and must not be taken from the profession of the law; they are no more than chiefs of the police who preside at city meetings, bull-fights, and the public acts of the city.

The lieutenants civil, tenientes de villa, have jurisdiction independant of their authority, and supply them in their precidencies. Beside these, Madrid and Seville have regidores, a kind of inspectors, who maintain the police in concurrence with the corregidor. This is the municipal constitution of Madrid. The alcaldes de cortes make no part of it, and are, as we have observed, dependant upon the court; this, however, prevents not their jurisdiction from extending to the interior of the capital, which is divided into a certain number of quarters, distributed to the different alcaldes de corte; each of whom has under him an alcalde de barrio,* a kind of local magistrate, who watches over the preservation of public order, within the extent of his jurisdiction. Lastly, there is a magistrate with the title of superintendant, who is particularly charged with the police and preservation of public order in concurrence with the alcaldes de corte, the regidores, the corregidor, and the tenientes de villa. From this constitution, which is certainly somewhat complicated, results frequent clashings of jurisdiction among the magistrates; but on the other hand, there are few cities in Europe in which the police is better regulated than at Madrid, where there is more safety, or where fewer crimes are committed which escape the vigilance of justice.

It now remains to consider, by what code of laws justice is administered in Madrid, as well as in the rest of the kingdom. It may be said, strictly speaking, that the Roman or civil law has there no force. This, by some old ordinances of the kings of Castile, is forbidden, under severe penalties, to be so much as quoted. These laws, however, for so long a time the object of a blind admiration, and against which it is now become the custom to declaim with virulence, are frequently consulted in practice. The Spaniards

* There are therefore five kinds of alcaldes, alcalde pedaneo, alcalde ordinario, alcalde de barrio, alcalde mayor, and alcalde de corte.

seem to observe a just medium between the two extremes. They do not adopt the civil law implicitly; they look not upon all its decisions as infallible; but their lawyers derive from it knowledge and authorities, because they are convinced, that in the midst of a number of laws contradictory to each other, sometimes absurd, and frequently foreign to our manners and political constitution, many are to be found which cannot be denied to be dictated by reason and applicable to every legislation. The forms of process in Spain, are conformable to the Roman law, except some difference in terms and the use of documents. They are reported, not as in France by members of the tribunal, but by particular magistrates, called relatores, whose places are very lucrative, and consequently much sought after.

The only authentic laws according to which justice is administered, are registered in the codes published by the ancient kings; such are the ley de las siete partidas, the ordenamiento-real, the fuero-juzgo, and fuero-real. The principal code, that which is in constant use, is called the recopilacion. It is a collection of various and distinct edicts of the monarchs of Spain from the earliest ages to the present reign. A new edition is given from time to time, in which all the laws published since the last are inserted; for it is not till after they are thus registered that certain edicts acquire the force of law. Such are those which are issued from the council of Castile under the title autos-accordatos, and which may sometimes, from intervening circumstances, be revoked by the council itself.

It has been pretended in certain foreign prints, that Charles III. intended to give to Spain a new criminal code, and that the council of Castile had been ordered to digest it. The assertion was at least exaggerated. The council, which too well knows how much men are led by words, would have feared to dishonour the memory of Charles III. by placing his name at the

head of a criminal code. The title alone awakens an idea of severity and even of cruelty, which would have formed too great a contrast to the clemency and goodness which were the characteristic virtues of that sovereign. The following facts are what gave rise to the error: The council of Castile, by the agency of the count de Campomanes, who was then one of its fiscales, had proposed the revision and reform of the old criminal laws, some of which were absurd, disgusting, or impossible to be enforced; such were those which condemned certain criminals to be pierced with arrows; false witnesses to have their teeth pulled out, &c. The proposition being approved by the king, the council appointed some members of the different tribunals to make a revision of the penal laws, and to substitute others more conformable to modern manners. From the report of this committee, of which the count de Campomanes was president, the chamber of the alcaldes de corte was directed to draw up a plan which should serve as a basis to the projected reform. Whatever may be the ultimate benefit derived from this measure, which I believe, is not even yet completed, it produced a tract on the penal laws, the work of a young lawyer named Lardizabal, which appeared in 1784, and may be read with pleasure and advantage, even after the celebrated essays of the marquis of Beccaria.

It is here proper to speak of the torture, that barbarous institution against which modern philosophy has so forcibly exclaimed. It is not yet formally abolished in Spain, and still finds some defenders. About twenty years ago an ecclesiastic named Castro, undertook a formal apology for it; but his work, which inspired almost general indignation, was completely refuted by a gentlemen of the profession of the law, who in fact only expressed the moderate sentiments of the first tribunal of the kingdom, and of the reasonable part of the nation. His system has infinitely more partisans than that of his antagonist.

The canon law is the received code in Spain in all ecclesiastical affairs. It must not however be imagined that the court of Madrid pays implicit obedience to the orders of the holy see. There is no catholic kingdom in which more successful efforts have been made to lighten this yoke.

The religion of Rome and its ministers are without doubt still held in the greatest veneration, and the priests and monks, under pretext of directing consciences, sometimes take part in the temporal concerns, and abuse the confidence placed in them by excessive credulity. But these abuses even under the reign of pious monarchs, were in many respects suppressed; though during a great part of the present century, they infected the very avenues to the throne.

The dangerous influence which father D'Aubenton, and his successors of the same order enjoyed at the court of Philip V. is remembered with indignation; as likewise that of father Rabago, the last jesuit who sat in the confessional chair of the Spanish monarchs, with Ferdinand VI. The confessor of Charles III. was a Franciscan. But although this monk was very frequently admitted to the presence of his august penitent, he did not extend his jurisdiction beyond the limits of the duties of real religion; nay, notwithstanding what has been said in Europe, he had few connexions at court, and concerned himself very little with the affair of government and political intrigue. The monarch, though he continually treated him with that deference which he thought due from him to the director of his conscience, had more than once repressed the fervency of his zeal. It is true his majesty generally consulted him concerning filling the vacant bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities, which are at the disposal of the king, and in this point of view his confessor may be considered as possessing the nomination to benefices, although this properly belongs to the camara, and to the minister of favour and justice. But even in this respect, his influence

was at length circumscribed, and the appointment to vacant sees vested, in exclusion of him, in the count de Florida Blanca, the then minister of favour and justice.

This incontestible right of the kings of Spain to nominate to the great benefices of their dominions has been allowed by the popes only since the year 1753, the date of the compact between the Spanish court and the holy see. Until then the collation to benefices had been the objects of frequent contests between the two courts. The kings of Spain claimed by virtue of their right of patronage, as having founded and endowed all the churches in their dominions. That moderate pontiff, Benedict XIV. who perceived that the real means of preserving the remaining rights of the holy see in an age when the eyes of every European sovereign were more open to discover abuses, was to compound for some of them, proposed, that in the first place the subject should be discussed by the cardinals Aquaviva and Belluga; but their interposition having produced a correspondence in which both parties were only inflamed against each other, without making much progress towards a conclusion, it was agreed to abandon the discussion and negotiate in an amicable manner. For this purpose Spain deputed the abbé de Figueroa, a man of a mild and conciliating character, and who has since been at the head of the council of Castile. The result was the compact which has finally settled this dispute between the crown of Spain and the court of Rome.

The holy see did not refuse the kings of Spain the right of nomination to all consistorial benefices, which has been granted to them by different bulls. The compact confirms them in the possession of this right, regulating however that titularies should be obliged to provide themselves with bulls.

The principal contest turned upon regular and simple benefices. The kings of Spain demanded to nominate to all; the popes claimed a right to confer

those at least which became vacant in the apostolical months. The compact enumerated fifty-two benefices which should be at the nomination of the holy see, with obligation to confer them upon none but Spaniards; and it was also stipulated that the pope should not delegate this power of collation; that the benefices should be exempt from pensions, and that the titularies should pay no cedulos bancarias.

These were contracts made with the apostolical chamber, by virtue of which the candidate to whom the benefices was promised engaged himself to pay a certain sum. This sum he frequently did not possess; in which case the apostolical chamber advanced it to him at an enormous interest, and kept agents in Spain who took care to have these engagements fulfilled. These ruinous abuses sent to Rome one year with another, a fifth of the revenues of all the benefices. One of the inconveniencies, which were the consequence, was the emigration of the candidates who went to intrigue at Rome and there dishonour their country. This was not the only impropriety abolished by the compact. Previous to it the pope had always disposed of the spolios y vacantes, that is of the spoil of desceased prelates and the revenues of vacant benefices. The administration of these funds was confided to an office, composed of Italians, so expert in this business that a fourth of the produce of the benefices of Spain disappeared under their rapacious management. By the compact the holy see renounced these revenues under the single condition that the administration of the spolios y vacantes, should be granted to none but an ecclesiastic. This trifling restriction does not prevent the kings of Spain from disposing of them according to their pleasure. The minister they name employs a part of them in making advances to the new prelates who want money for their establishment. It has been remarked, to the praise of the dignified Spanish clergy, that the repayment of these advances has never been neglect-

ed; and it must also be allowed, that though there are still some fanatics among the Spanish prelates, they are highly worthy of commendation for their piety, charity, and unimpeachable moral conduct.

Though it is stipulated by the compact that the produce of the spolio y vacantes, shall be wholly consecrated to pious uses, the king, as we have observed, makes no scruple of employing a part of them in the encouragement of industry, and even in rewards for military services. But this source of beneficence is much less considerable than it might be. The chapters commonly chosen to liquidate the property of deceased prelates, and to administer the revenues of great vacant benefices, sometimes reduced them both to one-fourth of their real value.

As the concordat deprived the holy see of the spolios y vacantes, and some other revenues, and as that see seldom makes voluntary sacrifices, it was necessary that a sort of equivalent should be found. On account of the pensions, payable for the benefices of Spain, and the produce of the cedulas bancarias, the court of Madrid engaged to pay it on one part, six hundred thousand Roman crowns, at an interest of three per cent. and on the other a sum of three hundred and ten thousand crowns upon the same condition, as an indemnification for the produce of the sale of bulls, and that of the annates. Lastly, the king of Spain, by the same compact, engages that for the subsistence of the nuncio at his court, an annual sum of fifty thousand crowns shall be paid for the revenue of the bull of the crusade, which on this occasion was rendered perpetual. It is manifest that the compact of 1753 has greatly diminished the contributions which Spain pays to the holy see. The produce however of marriage dispensations still remains in the possession of the latter, and may be estimated at fifteen hundred thousand livres (62,500*l.*) a year.

Since that period, the court of Madrid has conti-

nued warmly to defend the rights of sovereign authority against the pretensions of the holy see. It is not forgotten in what manner it received the admonition of Clement XIII. to the infant of Parma. The council of Castile collected all the copies and commanded the same to be done by all the letters, bulls, and briefs, which should be found contrary to the royal rights or to the measures taken by government, renewing the ancient law, which denounced pain of death and confiscation against any notary or other persons who should dare to notify them.

On this occasion the council of Castile, of which the count d'Aranda was then president, collected every public act by which the king of Spain, from the time of Charles V. had endeavoured to prevent the admission of the bull in Cæna Domini, so far as it was prejudicial to the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the temporal tribunals, and commanded all archbishops and bishops of the kingdom to prevent its publication and enforcement in their several dioceses.

To these proofs of the vigilance of the catholic kings to maintain the independence of royal authority I shall add that Spain, like France, has the resource of its appeals from abuses. In 1784, a Spanish work appeared, written professedly on this subject, and entitled, *Maximas sobre recursos de fuerza y proteccion.* The clergy, and especially the holy office, the ancient and now almost forgotten constitutions of which the author had printed at the end of his work, endeavoured to prevent its publication; but the council of Castile and the minister openly protected the author and enabled him to triumph over every opposition. It was at the same period also that the powers and privileges of the nuncio in Spain were confined within narrow limits. In the reign of Charles V, they had already received some diminution. The council of 1528 began by establishing that the auditor of the nunciature should be a Spaniard.

In 1564 the council of Castile restrained the power

of the nuncio, and sent him back his credentials that he might get them altered conformable to the restriction. In 1640, the office of nuncio experienced new vicissitudes. A regulation appeared which established its form and proceedings, and to which was added, a list of all the favours which might be conferred by his authority.

The nuncios, however, frequently abused the pious veneration of the Spaniards to extend their power. They sometimes arrived with bulls which authorized them to be the collectors of the produce of the *spolios y vacantes*, and to oppose the intervention of the secular tribunals in the *recursos pro fuerza* or appeals as from abuses. In 1641, a nuncio appeared in Spain furnished with such a bull; but the council of Castile, which has ever zealously supported royal authority, examined and annulled it.

Under the present dynasty, the nuncios have made other attempts in which they have failed. Sometimes, when absent, they have made by their own authority subdelegates to supply their places In 1739, the nuncio being dangerously ill, appointed the inquisitor-general to exercise his functions; Philip V. was offended at the nomination, annulled it, and obliged the sovereign pontiff to create the bishop of Avila nuncio *per interim*. In 1771, the court of Madrid obtained from pope Clement XIV. a brief which gave a new form to the nunciature, and substituted to the auditor of the nuncio, who is the only judge of this tribunal, a rota, modelled by that of Rome, and composed of six ecclesiastics named by the sovereign pontiff, but upon the presentation of the king of Spain; which was exclusively insuring these places to the subjects of the monarchy. This brief stated also, that the audience of the nuncio should always be in Spain, but that for the future they should have no jurisdiction.

It must besides be observed that Spain has long since adopted, with respect to the independence of

the sovereign power, maxims very similar to the four famous articles which were sanctioned by the assembly of the clergy of France in 1682, and which every subject the moment a public employment is conferred upon him is obliged to swear he will observe and maintain.

There still exists in Spain, however, a very great abuse arising from religion ill understood; this is the extreme riches of the monks and clergy. Next to the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany, the richest catholic prelacies are found in Spain. The archbishoprics of Toledo, Seville, St. Jago, Valencia, and Saragossa, have larger revenues than any in France. There are monasteries, and particularly some of the Carthusians, the property of which extends to the greatest part of the district in which they are situated; and these religious foundations, while they depopulate and impoverish the neighbouring country, increase poverty and idleness by indiscriminate charity. Of this Galicia in particular is an example. Two-thirds of the province are in the hands of the monks and the clergy. The consequence is that Galicia, although singularly formed by nature, which has abundantly provided it with every necessary of life, is perhaps the part of Spain in which knowledge and industry have made the least progress.

The government, however, which becomes more and more enlightened, is endeavouring to lessen the consequences of such a situation. In the first place the wise choice of prelates prevents in them that display of offensive luxury which, by irritating indigence diminishes the respect due to religion. Their constant residence in their dioceses produces at least the advantage of making them expend their revenues in the country by which they are paid. All the prelates employ a great part of their income in alms. Several of them, particularly the archbishops of Toledo and Valencia, consecrate a portion to the encouragement of industry, and this is not the only manner in which

the riches of the clergy contribute to the good of the state. It will be seen, when we come to treat of the taxes, that they pay considerable contributions. Besides these, the court of Madrid has obtained from the holy see, the power of charging all the great benefices with the payment of pensions even to a third of their produce; and by a brief in 1783, this power was extended to all the simple benefices, which produce upwards of 200 ducas, or about (23*l.*) sterling.

The Spaniards saw, perhaps, more clearly than other states, which pretend to more philosophy, the absurdity of having religious orders, and suffering the heads of them to reside out of the kingdom. In consequence of this, the Carthusian monasteries in Spain were, in 1784, delivered from their dependence upon the grand Chartreuse; and when I left Madrid there was but two monastic orders, which had their principals or generals at Rome; and the death of these two was only waited for to detach them entirely from this dangerous connection.

The severity with which the court of Madrid treated the society of Jesus, the continued vigour with which it pursued the Jesuits, even to their extinction, in the court of Rome and the tranquillity of the nation, whilst these measures were carrying into execution, prove that Spain crouches not so much as it is commonly believed beneath the yoke of superstition, and the absolute empire of monks. It is not by groundless assertion, but by recent and incontestible facts, that we have endeavoured to combat the favourite prejudice of modern Europe, which surely can no longer exist, if such plain and convincing arguments are properly weighed.

The idea of the national bank was given by a young French banker, M. Cabanus, established at Madrid, who had begun to insinuate himself into the favour of government at the time the first bills were issued. M. Cabanus has a vigorous and firm mind, united with talents which he had cultivated in secret until the

time when he made them known. The favour of the minister would not have been sufficient to enable him successfully to struggle against the numerous obstacles he had to encounter. The manner in which he triumphed over them is a greater eulogium on him than any thing I can say in his praise, and has sufficiently revenged him for all the slanders of his enemies. Embarked in a dangerous project, in which a thousand prejudices concurred to prevent his succeeding, he has at once acquired an immense fortune and great honour. Without pretending to appreciate either the merit, utility or stability of his operations, it must be allowed that nothing but partiality can attribute to chance alone such brilliant and continued success, in despite of such powerful opposition.

1781, after having profoundly considered the resources of Spain, the causes by which they had been obstructed, and the means of giving them activity, he digested the plan of a national bank, and presented it to the minister.

His principal object was to employ a large sum of money, either in the bank or placed at a very moderate interest. The first means he proposed was to establish a capital, which should discount at four per cent. per ann. all bills of exchange drawn upon Madrid, as well from the other parts of Spain as from the rest of Europe. This resource was moderate; Madrid was not properly a commercial city. The wool Spain sends abroad is the principal article paid for in that metropolis, and this alone would not have furnished a very advantageous employment for the capital of the new bank.

He required that the profits of the *realgiro*, a particular species of bank, from which the court takes the money it has occasion to send abroad, either for the payment of ambassadors, envoys, consuls, &c. or for other purposes, should be given to the national bank. This was but a weak resource for the public

bank; the *realgiro* pays not more than two or three millions of livres anually.

But the chief source of profits which M. Cabanus proposed to open to the national bank, was the victualling and furnishing of the navy and army. Contracts for the first had been given to different persons. The second was held by the *Gremios*, and the several leases and contracts with these and the government, were upon the point of expiring. The bank therefore might replace the former, without giving reason for complaint.

Government was easily induced to favour a plan, which was to distribute among a great number of citizens profits until then confined to a few. The capital of the proposed bank amounted to the sum of three hundred millions of reals, or about seventy-five millions of livres tournois (2,125,000*l.*) divided into one hundred and fifty thousand shares of two thousand reals each.

Those who had property to purchase shares were not excluded from the profits they might produce. Besides the idle money to which an advantageous opening was about to be given, it was hoped that a great part of that in the hands of the Gremios at a moderate interest would naturally be removed from their offers to those of the national bank. The surplus of the grants from cities and communities were also counted upon. These were in the administration of the council of Castile, whence the national bank was to take them, and make such use of them as should be most advantageous to the persons they concerned. In Spain there are magazines of grain in most of the cities, boroughs, and villages.* Their surplus is converted into money. This also was an useless capital, which the bank might employ.

Hence it appears, that great advantages were pro-

* There are upwards of five thousand of these in Spain.

mised in every class of citizens. It is not therefore astonishing that the ministers adopted the project.

In an assembly of members from the chief branches of government in 1781, it was debated, when the bank should have a contract for furnishing the army and navy with stores, &c. would it be proper that government should confide this to its management as a contract, or at a certain commission? The authors of the plan and the ministry were of different opinions on the subject; and it was determined to allow a certain commission, with a clause to convert this into a farm or contract, when the experience of some years should have proved that it would have been advantageous to the finances of the king.

It was therefore determined that the national bank, or bank of St. Charles, should be charged with victualling and clothing the army, and furnishing the navy with the articles abovementioned, that it should be allowed an interest of four per cent. on account of the advances to be made to government, and a commission of ten per cent.

It was difficult to make a more advantageous bargain for future subscribers, and it was expected that in a little time their number would be considerably increased. The king and royal family first gave the example; this was followed by several rich individuals, who, more from condescension than conviction, were eager to deposit their capitals in the coffers of the bank. There were other monies of which the directors had previously assured themselves. Such were the accumulations of the grants from cities, &c. the surplus of magazines of corn, and certain capitals which, waiting for appropriation, were deposited under the safeguard of public authority.

This was the first state of the bank. The event answered not to the most probable conjectures. Most people were unmoved by a prospect which seemed of a nature to tempt every one. But few withdrew their

money from the bank of the Gremios: who were only obliged to raise the interest they paid to three and a half per cent. The new establishment had some partizans, but these appeared suspicious. Its antagonists, armed with the pretence of public good, forcibly declaimed against it. They kept up a mistrust which anterior events had prepared, and gained many over to their opinion.

The enemies to the new bank were, in the first place, all those who without previous examination are equally so to every novelty; others whose calculations were deranged by it, and those especially who from jealousy or natural prejudices looked with an evil eye upon a young foreigner, well received and supported by the ministry, and taking the advantage of a transient credit to overturn a nation which, said they, might find amongst its citizens men who understand its interests much better. The parallel already drawn between the creation of paper credit and the system of the famous law was then recollected.

The project in France was that of an ambitious stranger, who had given a mortal blow to the credit of the kingdom, by endeavouring to render it flourishing. In Spain it was that of a stranger also, who pretended to animate public credit and commerce, and aspired to seduce the nation, by tempting it with a chimerical profit. Each had given the idea of a bank; therefore the resemblance was perfect. Thus the greater part of men judge, deceived by the most trifling similarity between two objects.

The assertion which personal interest, or sentiments still more odious, had advanced, was adopted, propagated, and commented upon by credulity and ignorance. It was repeatedly said that the bank of St. Charles had presented to the public a plan of operation illusive in its nature, or at least totally incompatible with the true interests of the nation, and which, instead of favouring the liberty of commerce,

as had been artfully pretended, must be prejudicial to that, as well as to agriculture and industry, by swallowing up the money which might have been more usefully employed in their encouragement, than in naturalizing, in Spain, an evil until then unknown; the class of useless annuitants who should live in opulence and idleness on the labours of their fellow citizens; and that after having held up to public hatred all exclusive privileges, it had solicited for itself the most odious of monopolies.

What furnished a pretext for the last accusation, was a grant which the bank of St. Charles obtained soon after its establishment, for the exclusive exportation of piastres. The Spanish money is employed in a great measure to pay the balance of accounts due from Spain to the other nations of Europe. About thirty millions of them are annually struck in Spanish America. Part of these remain in the country; some of them are carried out of it in the smuggling trade; two or three millions are shipped on board the Nao, or galleon, from Acapulco; and the rest come to Europe to pay for merchandize sent thence to America. During a long time the mother country had not shipped commodities to her colonies to the amount of even ten millions of piastres, and the balance then owing to foreigners was calculated at fifteen millions.

It was absolutely necessary to pay this balance on account of the necessity of discharging debts to preserve credit. In less enlightened times, the Spanish ministry had conceived the idea of turning the unavoidable exportation of piastres to advantage: to increase the revenue of the state, such exportation was subjected to a duty of three per cent. which in 1768, was augmented to four per cent. and although the ministers are now convinced that it is only an additional tax on their own traders, to whom foreigners sell their goods four per cent dearer, the state of Spanish finances, and, perhaps, the remains of an attachment

to old prejudices, have not yet permitted them to take it off. The consequence is, that the duty is sufficiently high to give temptation to evade it: and even those who are appointed to collect it, favour the clandestine conveyance of piastres out of the kingdom. The whole surplus quits the colonies, but the royal treasure is deprived of a part of its revenues.

In this state of affairs, the bank wished for the exclusive privilege of exporting all the piastres necessary to discharge the balance due from Spain, and represented, that should this be granted, two advantages would result from it to the state; that of preventing the value of money from being increased, which must be the necessary consequence of multiplied negotiations; and that of diminishing the fraudulent exportation of piastres, by an extraordinary diligence, which could not be expected from the agents of government.

It was therefore ordered, that in future no person should possess the exclusive right of exporting piastres; that to prevent them from being fraudulently withdrawn out of the country, they should all pass by the way of Bayonne, except in a few particular cases, in which government should reserve to itself a conveyance through other channels; and also that those who should have money to send into foreign countries, should be obliged to take bills for it from the bank.

This grant, which had the form of an exclusive privilege, excited new clamours, among those whose personal interest was concerned.

The ministry were deaf to all suspicions and objections, and the bank was put in possession of its privilege in the month of November 1783. The first use made of it proved very advantageous to the subscribers. The war, as we have observed, had retarded the arrival of the treasures from America, and the return of peace brought with it a prodigious quantity of piastres. The

bank, which had taken the strictest precautions to prevent their being fraudulently conveyed out of the kingdom, exported upwards of twenty millions, in 1784.

The year following the sums exported amounted to nearly twenty-two millions, and as Europe impatiently waited the arrival of these periodical succours, the bank could not but sell to advantage a merchandize which is the price of those which Europe furnishes to Spanish America, which the latter country only produces, and which so many were anxious to possess, so that all concerned seemed to gain by the change. The bank, to which the most advantageous preceding years had not produced six millions and a half of reals for the duty of four per cent. upon the exportation of piastres, received from it in 1784 upwards of fifteen millions, and from sixteen to seventeen millions in 1785, and this one article produced a profit of twelve millions of reals to be divided among the subscribers.

In the mean time the expiration of the contracts with government for the victualling of the army and navy had put the bank in possession of these principal sources of its revenue. Its dividends were therefore increased. That of 1784, the first it made, was nine and a half, also a profit of forty-seven livres ten sols (3*s.* 7*d.*) upon each share which had been bought at its primitive value of five hundred livres (12*l.* 16*s.*) or two thousand reals. The triumph of the bank was then complete, and its enemies, at least those in Spain, suffered their spleen to evaporate in silence. As men in all countries ever pass from one extreme to another, invective was soon changed into enthusiastic panegyric.

The bank took advantage of this revolution, to increase, at different times, the shares which it had yet to dispose of,* and thus to enable itself to increase

* They were first raised fifteen per cent. upon their primitive value of two thousand reals, and six thousand

future dividends. The fermentation reached such foreign kingdoms as then were habitually addicted to stock-jobbing. In a little time the shares of the bank rose in France, Geneva, and other places, to eight thousand reals, or two thousand livres; and the Spaniards having less faith or more foresight than foreigners, were not wanting to encourage and gratify this inconsiderate ardor.

It was, however, but momentary, although it lasted long enough to produce pernicious revolutions in several fortunes. Some persons influenced by a patriotic zeal, took upon them to abate its violence. In France, a writer, known by his eloquence, but still more so by a strength of mind which induces him to speak, without reserve, such truths as he believes useful, undertook to instruct his countrymen.

The motive was laudable, but not so the execution of the work. With the energy natural to him, this author repeated and commented upon all the detractors of the bank had said, at the time of its establishment, not forgetting the abuse that had been thrown on him by whom the plan had been projected. He asserted that the bank of St. Charles could not under any point of view be considered as proper for Spain; and that it had departed from the simple and useful operations to which its founder had declared it was to be confined: that it must sooner or later lose the favour of government; that it became more and more odious to the commercial world by the monopoly it exercised; and that the subscribers could have no real confidence either in its duration or stability.

Hence he concluded, that great commercial nations

two hundred and eighty were sold at two thousand three hundred reals. Soon afterwards the eagerness of foreigners increased them to two thousand five hundred reals, or six hundred and twenty-five livres, and upwards of fifteen thousand shares were sold at this price. These two augmentations produced to the subscribers a profit of twenty-two millions of reals.

had reason to fear least their subjects, who had great capitals, should embark too much of their property in the bank of St. Charles, because they had need of all their aid to lighten the burden of their own debts; that they were not in a situation to lend great sums to foreigners, especially when it appeared that the loan must be perpetual; and finally, that individuals who exposed their fortunes in so hazardous an enterprize, acted like bad citizens as members of society, and like madmen as fathers of families.

The court of Madrid, leaving time and reason to contradict these assertions, which tended greatly to diminish the public confidence in an institution to which it had given its sanction, took the founder's part, and the council of Castile in June 1785, passed a decree, which proscribed the publication, and thereby proved that the period announced by its author was yet at a distance.

But this proscription prevented not the work from having its effect. The enthusiasm of stock-jobbers was abated, and since that time has not recovered its former ardour. It is not the interest even of the bank that it should again return. A great part of the shares of the bank first sold in foreign countries have returned to Spain. The bank itself took advantage of their reduced price, which fell to two thousand two hundred and forty reals, or five hundred and sixty livres, to buy in about twenty-five thousand, which it proposes to keep, the deduction of which will increase the future dividends in the same sum for the rest of the co-proprietors.

The part the bank has taken in the operations of the new Philippine company, is another circumstance which must have an influence upon the produce of its shares. M. Cabanus induced it, in 1785, to add to the funds of the company the sum of twenty-one millions of reals, deducted from the dividend of 1784; this gave to each share an interest of one hundred and forty reals, or thirty-five livres, in the property

of the Philippine company. Whatever may be the issue of this new institution, the association cannot be prejudicial to the bank.

The public opinion seemed at length to be decided on the subject, and the bank of St. Charles (as it is called), after withstanding every kind of opposition, appeared now to be permanently established.

The Spanish government is far from that versatility which might cause it to abandon an institution, the plan of which it had brought to maturity, and which has some incontestible advantages, both for itself and a great part of its subjects. But let us suppose the worst to happen, that yielding to the representations of commercial people, and renouncing the surplus of the profit which the treasury receives from the exportation of piastres since it is confined to one company, it should determine to leave the exportation free as it was before: let us suppose also, that for the love of public good, it should accept the offers made to furnish the army and navy upon better terms than those of the bank; what would be the result? The bank reduced to the slender profits of discount, and the realgiro, would indeed be obliged to cease its operations; but as according to its constitution it cannot change the course of its funds; as the sum which it has placed in the hands of the Philippine company was not taken from the bank capital, but from its profits, there is every reason to presume that the capital would remain untouched and be employed to reimburse all the proprietors of shares. Therefore these are only exposed to one risk, that of government's seizing the capital in a moment of distress. But were this apprehension well-founded, there would be nothing sacred on earth; policy in defect of virtue must serve the proprietors as a safeguard; and it is not from the Spanish government that they ought to fear a measure which would be equally treacherous and imprudent, especially at a time when it is seriously engaged in repairing the wounds given to its

credit in preceding reigns, and in taking advantage of it to second the general inclination of the kingdom to engage in useful enterprizes.

It will here be proper to speak of its capital in money, not as a banker, that is not in my power, but as a traveller, who wishes to give some idea to his readers of every thing relative to a country in which he has resided for a considerable time.

It seems, at first sight, that it must be easy to know what money circulates in Spain. She possesses all the metals which she uses in her mint. These, when converted into coin, cannot be brought from America without paying a duty. On entering Spain the money pays another, and a third is required upon sending it thence to a foreign kingdom. It should therefore seem, that the custom-house books would give a clear idea of the coin in Spain. But a great part of the money struck in the Indies passes clandestinely from America to Europe; foreign merchants also fraudulently receive a part of the value of the merchandize they have sent, although the whole be found on board Spanish vessels returning from America; and as frequent revisions of coin are neglected to be made, there are not data sufficient to arrive at certainty with respect to the quantity of money which usually circulates in the kingdom. It is therefore from loose calculation only, and upon the evidence of some well-informed merchants, that I have estimated it at eighty millions of double piastres, about four hundred millions of livres tournois (above sixteen millions and a half sterling). It will, perhaps, be thought extraordinary that Spain, which is in possession of most of the gold and silver mines in the world, and annually coins thirty millions of piastres, should be reduced to so moderate a sum of circulating money, especially when it is recollected that in the reign of Charles V. it contained almost all the gold and silver in Europe; and, what is still more valuable, possessed

in the productions of its soil and industry, the means of subsisting without the aid of any other nation.

In less than a century that kingdom has fallen from this state of splendor. To what is so rapid and total a revolution to be attributed? To the abundance of the precious metals which have increased the price of commodities, and the wages of workmen; to the decline of manufactures, which was the consequence; to the depopulation caused by the numerous emigrations to America; the great destruction of men, occasioned by long wars at a distance from the frontiers; and the expulsion of the Moors and Jews. It may also be more particularly attributed to the ruinous wars undertaken by Philip II. against the Low Countries, and which from the year 1567, to the truce in 1612, cost upwards of two hundred millions of piastres. If however Spain could be at peace for some years, and if the government would but second the marked disposition of the modern Spaniards, to encourage and support every undertaking of general utility, it would no longer see great part of its coin transported all over Europe, to pay the industrious foreigner, and to receive the stamp of other nations.

The first coin, as well gold as silver, which was struck in Spanish America, was irregular in its shape as much as in its impression, which on one side was a cross, and on the other the arms of Spain. Some of it is still in circulation.

The impression varied until the year 1772, when a new coinage took place, in which the head of the sovereign was struck on one side, and on the other the arms of Spain round an escutcheon.

The quadruple or ounce of gold, called in Spain the doblon de a ocho, which when exchange is at par, is worth eighty livres French (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*).

The half doblon de a ocho, value forty livres.

The doblon of gold, worth half the preceding piece.

The half doblon of gold.

The little gold crown or durito, which in 1779 was the value of half the demi-doblon, but at present is worth one-twentieth more, and consequently about five livres five sols (4*s.* $4\frac{1}{2}$*d.*).

The silver coin consists of the great piastre, worth about twenty reals, a quarter of the doblon of gold, that is a hundred sols, (4*s.* 2*d.*) when exchange is at par.

The half piastre worth about ten reals.

The pezeta colunaria or little piece of five reals, which is coined in America only, and bears on one side two pillars and on the other two globes crowned.

The common pezeta of four reals, worth about twenty sols (10*d*).

Since the year 1785 almost all these assemblies have been in a state of disorder. Lerena, who became at that epoch minister of finance, began by shewing his prejudice against its author, M. Cabanus, maliciously created difficulties to the old directors and removed them from their situations, placing their enemies in their room. He took from them the contracts for supplying the troops and the navy, of the terms of which there were still three years unexpired, while the profits should have remunerated them for the unavoidable losses they had suffered in the preceding years; he farther gave the direction of those departments to the Gremios, who had waited impatiently for such an event; so much apparent mismanagemet threw such a discredit on the transactions of the bank, that towards the end of the year 1791 its prosperity rapidly declined.

The animosity of Lerena did not stop here, jealous of the credit and success of M. Cabanus, whom he looked upon as a dangerous rival, he perplexed him with so many malicious contrivances, as compelled him in 1790 to give up his place of perpetual director of the bank. This was not all, for a short time after-

ward he made a pretext of an insignificant letter written by Cabanus to one of his correspondents to have him arrested. This detention continued above five years; and the minister Lerena, as capable of nourishing hatred, as of inspiring it, carried with him to the grave the maglignant satisfaction of leaving his enemy in a prison.

The successor of Lerena, M. de Gardoqui, had the justice to repair the injury, but whether from want of interest, or from delay, which however gave rise to many misinterpretations of his conduct, he was not very expeditious in fulfilling the duty imposed on him, the cause of M. Cabanus was protracted by all those irksome forms too common in Spain, and which secret malevolence finds means to make still more tedious. At length, however, in the course of the year 1795, he obtained justice and complete triumph over his enemies. He was most honourably acquitted of every thing laid to his charge, restored to all the places which he had before held, and authorized to prosecute his claim for the losses he had sustained in his property by his long confinement, at the expense of the successors to the property of his persecutor.

Notwithstanding this appearance of prosperity, M. Cabanus, after the year 1796 had still to suffer great vicissitude. He had been honoured with the title of compte: and in a short time he regained almost the same influence as formerly in the direction of the bank. In connecting himself with the Prince of Peace, he recovered part of his interest: and this minister was in some measure influenced by his advice in taking into the ministry Don Francisco Saavedra, and Don Gaspar Jovellanos.

The compte de Cabanus was then employed in some confidential missions abroad. On his return to Spain, he was thought a proper person to send as ambassador to France, and was ready to appear in this new character, when it was suggested to the executive power, that being born a Frenchman he could

not be the representative of a foreign power in his native country, and accordingly his appointment was withdrawn.

Such was the affront Cabanus experienced, and the misfortune was imputed to him as a fault: for from that time his favour declined, and was succeeded by a sort of disgrace.

After travelling some time, Cabanus returned to Spain; his enemies had profited by his absence, and he soon found that a philosophic retirement was his only resource. He therefore settled a few leagues from Madrid in the country, when for some years he employed himself in agriculture, and other similar pursuits; but even here his tranquillity was disturbed, and he was again obliged to cross the Pyrenees; at the end of the year 1804, he had a temporary residence at Toulouse.

The bank, which Cabanus had established experienced many vicissitudes: at first it was entirely independent of the government, fifteen years afterwards it was totally under the direction of the state, the prosperity of it suffered from the change, and during the war with France its credit rapidly declined. Nevertheless, with the exception of one of the last years, it constantly paid a dividend of six, five and a half, five, or at least four and a half per cent, which is almost incredible, considering the vast diminution of its profits, which at last only proceeded from the privilege of issuing out dollars.

Thus the celebrated bank of St. Charles justified neither the pompous promises of the founders, nor the sinister predictions of its enemies; and it must be allowed, that all circumstances considered, it has been more productive of advantage than inconvenience to the country.

This subject leads us to say something of the quantity of circulating specie, and coins of Spain.

It is not easy to calculate the quantity of specie which circulates in Spain. That country has under

its controul the mines of every metal that is converted into money; these metal coins are not suffered to go out of America without paying a duty, and they pay a second one on their entrance into Spain. But of all this money coined in the Spanish colonies, a considerable quantity goes from thence contraband into the different countries of Europe.

A new coinage is seldom made in Spain, which increases the difficulty of ascertaining the quantity of coin in circulation.

Musquiz, who had had the direction of the finances, acknowledged, a short time before his death, in my presence, before several Spaniards who were better informed on the subject than himself, that he could not even guess at the quantity, and it was after the discussion which took place on the occasion, that I learnt that the circulation was about eighty millions of double piastres (above sixteen millions and a half sterling).

The half pezeta of two reals and a half.

The quarter pezeta, coined also in the Indies, exclusively.

The realito or real of vellon, worth about five sols ($2\frac{1}{2}$*d.*).

The copper coins are, the double quarto, four of which make a real. The double quarto is worth about one sol three deniers ($1\frac{1}{4}$*d.*).

The quarto, which is half the preceding piece.

The ochavo, half of the quarto.

The maravedi, which is the smallest money that exists. Thirty-four maravedis make a real. Few of them are found even in Spain, and I imagine none have lately been coined.

Most of the gold coins are struck in America. The silver coin from the mints there bears for its distinguishing marks, on one side the crown of Spain between the two pillars, and on the other the head of the sovereign crowned with a wreath of laurel, to

signify that the kings of Spain were the conquerors of America.

There are mints at Peru, Santa Fé, and Mexico. The greater number of the piastres which come to Europe are coined in the latter. There are but three mints in Spain, those of Madrid, Seville, and Segovia: the latter coins copper money only. Besides these, there are as in France and England ideal monies, or monies of exchange, which are,

The simple pistole or the doblon, worth about four simple piastres or fifteen livres (12*s.* 6*d.*) exchange at par. It is according to this ideal money that exchange is regulated between France and Spain.

The simple piastre or peso, which is called peso sencillo to distinguish it from peso fuerte, great piastre, is worth 15 reals or about 3 livres 15 sols (3*s.* $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.*).

The ducat, worth eleven reals. This is the money in which the salaries of places under government are paid.

I shall not mention other kinds of ideal money, which are not known except in the provinces.

For three centuries past the court of Spain has been careful not to change the standard of its money. It was no doubt aware that infidelities or even variations of this kind must create uncertainty and distrust in the operations of commerce, which draws from the Spanish possessions the greatest part of the money necessary to settle its balances.

Nevertheless in 1737, the court of Madrid having observed that the great piastre had only a value proportioned to the difference which then existed between the gold and silver coin increased it to twenty reals; the equilibrium intended to be established between these two metals being again destroyed, the value of gold was no longer in proportion to its abundance. There was too great an advantage in exporting it in preference to silver. If Spain had not ap-

plied a remedy she would in the end have been wholly deprived of that metal.

Government therefore thought proper in 1779 to add a sixteenth to the imaginary value of the gold coin, without changing the weight or standard. By this operation, the quadruple or doblon de a ocho, which before was worth but fifteen great piastres was increased to sixteen, and all the other gold pieces in proportion. Nations which possess precious metals give laws to others, with respect to the standard of their money, and those who do not follow them must sooner or later be the victims of their obstinacy. This just observation, constantly confirmed by experience, has recently determined our ministry to increase the value of gold.

There is in Spain a sovereign court which regulates and decides affairs relative to the coin, under the title of real junta de commercio, moneda, minas, &c. because its jurisdiction extends to whatever relates to commerce, the mines, and some other objects.

This junta is composed of several members of the council of finances, one from that of Castile, and two from that of the Indies.

This court or junto is as independent in other respects as the other sovereign councils of the monarchy.

The Spanish navy formerly held the first rank in Europe, whether in regard to war or navigation, and that for more than a century. The names of Columbus, Magellan, and Cano will never be forgotten, nor the power which gave encouragement to their illustrious undertakings. Neither can geographers forget those two other navigators, Quiros and Mendana, whose extensive knowledge of other countries has been acknowledged by modern observation. At the same period, the naval service had also its heroes; but they were lost to the country with the invincible armada; and under the different reigns of

the three Philips scarcely any traces of their former celebrity remained. Charles the Second left his navy, as well as the rest of his monarchy, in the most deplorable state.

The war of the succession restored some degree of transient activity to the sea service, but its able navigators were no more. Under the two last reigns the Spaniards have attempted, not without some success, to revive this part of the glory of their country. I will not speak of Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio Ulloa, who took part in the expedition of Condamine; the object of which was only astronomical researches. More recently the Spanish navigators have undertaken voyages to make new discoveries, or to become better acquainted with coasts hitherto but little known: the details and result of most of these voyages have been published.

In 1768, a vessel sailed from Monte Video to explore the unfrequented coast which separates the Rio de la Plata from the Straits of Magellan, and from thence to reconnoitre the Falkland Islands, which two years after nearly caused a rupture between Spain and England.

In 1769 and 1770, by order of the Marquis de Croix, at that time Viceroy of Mexico, and under the supreme direction of Don Joseps Galvez, there was sent from San-Blas, a port of Mexico, situated near the twenty-first degree of south latitude, two expeditions at the same time, the one by sea, and the other by land, to visit the port of Monterey, but which the ships had some difficulty to find again, although it had been discovered in 1692, by Vizcayno, who had described its situation and direction very correctly.

About the same epoch other Spanish voyagers, Don Philippe de Gonzalez and Don Antonio de Monte, the first of them commander of the Saint Laurent, of 70 guns, and the last, of the Rosalie, a frigate of 36, sailed from Callao de Lima, on an expedition towards the islands in the South Sea, and dis-

covered the Easter islands; though the merit of the first discovery incontestibly belongs to the Dutchman Rogevin, but these navigators were before Cook and Pérouse: and doubtless, supposing they were before that time unknown, took possession of them in the name of the king of Spain, erected crosses on three hills, and gave the island the name of San Carlos.

In 1775, Bucarelli, Viceroy of Mexico, sent from San Blas two navigators, Don Juan de Ayala, and Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega, to explore the coasts of California as far as the 65th degree; but they could not get beyond the 57th, and returned without having done any thing but reconnoitre some small ports of that coast, such as Los Remedios, De los Dolores, &c. &c.

Don Antonio Maurelle, who since has acquired the name of the Spanish Cooke, was in this voyage the pilot of the vessel commanded by Don Juan de Ayala.

Maurelle has since made some expeditions, which, on account of the difficulties he had to encounter and overcome in them, have given him a title to a share of reputation. Maurelle has since made, on his own account, and notwithstanding the monsoons, the voyage of the Philippines to the east coast of America.

It is well known that Otaheite was visited by the Spaniards before the days of Cook: the discovery neither belongs to the navigators of our days, nor to Commodore Wallis; nor even to our Admiral Bougainville. Spain has always had a right to claim the island of Otaheite, as being the just discoverers of it by their navigator Quiros. We see by the account of the second voyage of Cook, that the Spaniards had left in that place two of their countrymen; but we know little else of their voyage, the account of which is still in manuscript.

There is a more modern account in print, which is that of Don Antonio Cordova, in the years 1785 and 1786, on board the frigate Santa Maria de la Cabeza.

The anonymous author of which, seems to be well versed in nautical knowledge.

Very recently an experienced officer of the Spanish navy, M. de Malaspina set sail from Cadiz, on a voyage round the world. His expedition had the same object as that of Pérouse: and like the unfortunate French circumnavigator, was furnished with instruments proper for every sort of observation. On his return to Cadiz, his manuscripts were given to a learned monk, to revise and prepare for the press, when each of them incurred, but why is not known, the displeasure of the sovereign; they were both imprisoned, the work was suspended, and the gratification which the learned of Europe expected, was deferred indefinitely.

In the course of the year 1797, it was hoped that the publication of the voyages of Malaspina would be no longer delayed, but this hope was again disappointed: which makes it to be believed, that the expected narrative was suspended by other causes than those which were at first suspected. M. de Malaspina is at present in Parmesan, his native place, where he lives at peace, far from the storms of the ocean, and far from the tumults of a court, still more formidable.

This is a rough sketch of what has been done in these modern times by the Spaniards, to extend the bounds of navigation.

We will now proceed to consider the state of the navy of Spain, which Charles III. found in an imperfect state, though Ferdinand VI. had less neglected this than other branches of the administration, and though his minister, the marquis de la Ensenada was esteemed its restorer. It is divided into three departments, those of Ferrol, Carthagena, and Cadiz.

The first has real inconveniences, on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, and the frequent rains which retard the operations in the port, whence no vessel can sail but with one particular wind. This department for the north coast of Spain would, per-

haps, be better placed at Vigo, the climate of which is very healthy, the soil fertile, and the harbour safe and spacious; this change has more than once been in contemplation; in case it had taken place, arsenals and magazines must have been established at Vigo, where at present there is not one of either; and the harbour must have been fortified at a very considerable expense, because it is a kind of open road; this, together with its vicinity to Portugal, which has long been considered as the natural enemy of Spain, for no other reason, perhaps, than because it is its nearest neighbour, seemed to appear forbidding circumstances; and such considerations of economy and policy have hitherto prevented the execution of this project.

The department of Carthagena has many advantages over that of Ferrol. The safety of its harbour is known by an old proverb among seamen, who say, there are but three good ports for vessels, the months of June and July, and the harbour of Carthagena. This safety extends to the arsenals and dock yards, which in a narrow place may, if I may say so, be locked up by a single key, according to the expression of the Spanish sailors. Carthagena therefore is the port where the greatest number of ships are built, caulked, and careened. The present monarch established, in 1770, a corps of navy engineers, under the direction of M. Gauthier, of whom I shall hereafter speak.

The department of Cadiz is, however, the most important of the three, on account of its favourable situation for the departure of fleets. As I mean to conduct my reader to Cadiz, where I resided some time, I shall refer him to my account of it for the information I have been able to collect relative to its port, dock-yards, and arsenals; which will serve as a supplement to what I shall here say of the Spanish navy.

It is governed much in the same manner as was that of France, before the Revolution. Instead of

vice-admirals there are captains-general, who enjoy the same honours as those of the army. At present, 1805, there are but three captains-general of the navy, the Bailli de Valdes, who has been minister of this department fourteen years. Don Juan de Langara, and the marquis del Socorro, formerly known by the name of Don Francisco Solano; but above these, there is in the navy, as in the army, a privileged person in favour of whom the title of generallissimo of the naval force has been created. It is easy to divine that this is the prince of peace. Immediately after the captains-general of the navy, are the lieutenants-general. There were but seventeen in the year 1788; in 1796 there were thirty, ten of whom had been made the preceding year, at the close of a war, where opportunities of displaying their talents or courage had been very rare. There are nearly the same number at the present time.

We have been of late years able to appreciate the talents of many of these officers, such as admiral Mazareddo, who, for above a year resided at Paris, charged at once with a mission, political and military, and who is at present commandant-general of the department of Cadiz; Don Francisco Gil de Lemos, whose experience and reputation have lately promoted him to the rank of marine minister; admiral Gravina, who commanded the Spanish squadron, at the time it was anchored in the harbour of Brest, and whom our admirals had so much reason to applaud, in the combined expedition to Saint Domingo, and in which sentiment the auxiliary squadron under his command concurred, and who was afterwards, for too short a time, ambassador from his court to Paris; admiral Don Domingo Grandellana, whose zeal and talents promoted him about three years back to be marine minister, but who since resigned, to preside over the work of Ferrol; Don Juan Morero, who, notwithstanding the deplorable accident, which occasioned the loss of two of his ships before Cadiz, ac-

quired of our seamen, who witnessed his courage, as well as his misfortune, the title of the brave, and respectable general; Don Thomas Munos, equally esteemed for his activity, his talents, and his loyalty.

We might also mention several general officers, who in the preceding wars had acquired distinguished reputation. Such as Don Francisco de Borja, captain-general of the department of Carthagena; Don Felix de Texada, captain-general of the department of Ferrol; Don Gabriel de Aristizabel, known for some expeditions which required both address and intrepidity; Don Antonio Cordova, who, although he has experienced an unmerited reverse of fortune, possesses acknowledged talents, and superior courage.

To these names might be added many less known out of Spain, but not less worthy of celebrity. After the lieutenants-general, rank the commodores, who have been more numerous, but at present are reduced to twenty-four. The Spanish navy has an intermediate rank between the commodore and the captain, that of brigadier. There were only forty-four of them in 1788, and at the peace, 1795, there were only forty-five, of whom thirty-two were of the war promotion. There are at this time forty-two brigadiers.

The number of captains was in 1788, only forty-four. There are at present eighty-seven.

One rule to which there are but few exceptions is, that to acquire rank in the navy, it is necessary to have passed through the Garde-marine. This corps was established in 1717; it consists of three companies, each containing ninety-two cadets, for whose instruction there is an academy, composed of a director and eight professors.

With these means of obtaining the theory of the difficult and perilous art of navigation, and the facility the vast extent of the Spanish monarchy offers to acquire a practical knowledge in frequent and distant expeditions, malignity might be authorized to judge with severity the officers of the Spanish navy; and we

know that even in Spain this was freely done in the course of the late American war.

It is not for me to form an opinion of these decisions, which some events seem to justify; I leave that to our sea officers, who sailed and fought by the side of their allies. Let them declare whether or not such decisions were not frequently dictated by prejudice and injustice.

The war we were involved in with Spain, from the month of April, 1793, until the peace of Basle, in 1795, might occasion reflections much more severe, as the Spanish seamen would be judged by enemies, instead of allies. In fact, if we except Rose bay, from whence a small squadron, commanded by the brave Gravina, defended with great intrepidity the citadel of that name, and the little fort of Bouton; and if we except also the port of Toulon, which by treachery was opened to the combined squadrons of our enemies, where did the Spanish navy appear with any eclat? Even their own nation exclaimed and blushed at their inactivity. The very seamen themselves partook of these sentiments, and complained that their own ardor was restrained by the extreme circumspection of the commander-in-chief, a man well calculated to direct a navy in time of peace, but little capable of giving any impulse to activity in time of war. It was also confidently asserted, that at that time there was fortunately for us a misunderstanding between the combined fleets of our enemies, which caused a division between two nations, united by a transient interest, but who agree not concerning either the end or the means.

As soon as this alliance against nature was dissolved, to the great mortification of the one and the great satisfaction of the other, the Spanish navy seemed disposed to make the momentary error of their government be forgotten; and if in the war when they met those as enemies whom they so lately had considered as allies, they did not particularly distinguish

themselves, the cause ought to be attributed to circumstances.

We know that a considerable part of the Spanish force conducted to Brest at the desire of our government suffered the same fate as our own, and was for a long time confined there by superior force. But it should not be forgotten that every where, when occasion presented, the Spanish seamen gave sufficient proofs of their firmness and intrepidity.

The English will particularly remember the long and ineffectual blockade of the port of Cadiz; of the reception they experienced at the Canary Isles in the year 1797, and before the port of Ferrol, in the month of August 1800, and above all their expedition against Cadiz in the month of October in the same year; and lastly their attempt on the coast of Algesiras in the month of June 1801, when the glorious efforts of our seamen were so well supported by the foresight and valour of their allies, and we can never forget the manner in which they concurred in our expedition to the Isle of St. Domingo, or how they seconded us in the combined war with England.

The sea officers of Spain are, in regard to rewards for their services, on a par with the officers of the army. Vice-royalties, commands of provinces, or places in Spanish America, are indiscriminately given to officers of the army or navy. But the last have in their maritime expeditions opportunities of making a fortune, which are considered as legal in Spain, and these opportunities are sometimes as profitable that what is called *les graces du roi*, are less necessary to them.

The seamen of the Spanish navy are classed and divided into three departments, according to the register of which there are from 55 to 60,000. But from these must be deducted a fourth part, consisting of such as are unfit for service, though still borne on the books, to entitle them to the privileges attached to classed seamen.

If we may judge by the department of Ferrol, which of twenty thousand classed seamen had at most in the year 1792 but 15,000 fit for service, and even among these we may still reckon many not to be depended upon. The Catalans for example, although good seamen, are not well calculated for the service of ships of war. They are besides sullen and ill-tempered, and prefer the service of merchant ships, where they are better used and better paid.

From these premises we may fairly conclude, that the number of seamen which the navy could employ, does not exceed from 36 to 40,000.

In 1790, when Spain was on the eve of a rupture with England, they found difficulty in fitting out 32 ships of the line. However, they had several more fit for service if they could have fitted them out.

We will now consider the progress of the Spanish navy from the beginning of the reign of Charles III.

After the peace which followed the unfortunate war of 1761, Spain had but 37 ships of the line and about 30 frigates.

In 1770 they had 51 ships from 112 guns to 58: 22 frigates and smaller vessels, amounting to 102 ships of war.

In 1774, they had 64 ships of the line, of which 8 were three deckers, 26 frigates, 9 xebecks, 28 other small ships of war. In all 142.

In 1778, Spain had 67 ships of the line, 32 frigates, &c. Total 163; and at the end of the war, though they had experienced some losses, they had nearly the same number.

At the end of the year 1792, when war was declared with France, they reckoned 80 ships of the line, of which 6 were absolutely out of the service, and 14 very little fit for use.

At this epoch Spain had at least 50 ships of war to oppose us. The war with the republic of France was not unfortunate for the Spanish navy. That in which they were soon after involved with the English occa-

sioned them many more and serious losses, to repair which has seriously occupied the Spanish government ever since, by every means in their power. Thus, at the moment when in 1804, England took advantage of their unprovided situation by a declaration of war, at which all Europe exclaimed, they still had 65 ships of the line, some good, and some indifferent, from which number they might have equipped at the least 50 for service, if the calamities which at that time fell at once on this unfortunate country had not principally affected the seamen.

The fitting out the Spanish ships, vary according to circumstances, although the complement ought to be by right, ten men to a gun, the 74 gun ships have at most but 650. At the end of the year 1792, some of them had but 500; and the scarcity of real seamen compelled them often to reduce the complement of two deckers to 300 men. But how happens it that in Spain the number of seamen is so little proportioned to the population? It is because the merchant service is the real support of the navy: and that the commerce of Spain being more passive than active, and the interior navigation being reduced to nothing, the merchant service is also of little consideration.

A few years ago the merchant service only consisted of four or five hundred vessels, of which number the shores of Catalonia furnished more than three-fourths, and those of Biscay almost all the rest. Let us compare this account of Spain with England, whose population is inferior by more than three millions, and who had, before the war which was terminated by the peace of Amiens above seven thousand merchant ships; or compare it with Holland, which, although not so populous by two-thirds, has at least 6500. Of late years however, the number of Spanish ships has much increased, which may be principally ascribed to the free trade with Spanish America.

Spain has also for the service of her ships of war a marine infantry, composed of twelve battalions, which consisting of a hundred and sixty-eight men each, form a corps of about 12,384 men.

Besides these there is a particular corps of artillery, which ought to consist of 3320 men, divided into 20 brigades; but in 1793, they had but about 1500 for the three departments.

Spain has also a society of pilots, with schools of pilotage.

In the reign of Ferdinand VI. the Spaniards adopted the English principles in building their ships. Don Jorge Juan, one of the most able naval officers as well in theory as practice, had gone to the true source, and afterwards drew to Spain some English ship-builders. When Charles III. came from Naples to take possession of the vacant throne, he found the building of the Spanish ships intrusted to individuals of a nation which had but too much power in the cabinet of his predecessor, and which at that time was at war with France. In this war he soon took a part, and was a victim to his affection for France. The English took from him the Havannah, and twelve ships of war which were in that port. This check given to the Spanish navy was a new motive with the monarch to put it upon a respectable footing.

He renounced the English manner of building, and asked the court of France for a French ship-builder. The duke of Choiseul sent him M. Gautier, who, although a young man, had already given proofs of great talents in his profession. This stranger was to the navy what M. Maritz had been to the artillery. Spirit of party, national prejudices, and more especially the jealousy of some individuals, created him, as they had done M. Maritz, such difficulties as almost suppressed his zeal. The marquis d'Ossun, then ambassador from France to the court of Madrid, whom his catholic majesty honoured with his favour,

supported M. Gautier in his experiments, and enabled him to triumph over his enemies. He began his operations and displayed in them equal activity and intelligence. His first efforts, however, were not followed by all the success which might have been wished.

The form of the vessels of every rate which he constructed, enabled them to sail with a velocity until then unknown to the Spaniards; but they were found not to be sufficiently covered in, which made it very difficult to manœuvre them in bad weather. He has since improved his method to such a degree as to leave but little to desire in that respect. A great part of the Spanish vessels employed in the late war were built by M. Gautier; and several of them excited the admiration of both French and English seamen. The Conception, built according to his plan, was judged by intelligent persons of both these nations, to be the finest vessel in Europe.

But while we do justice to the hulls and solidity of the Spanish ships, it must be admitted that all seamen exclaim with reason against their heaviness of sailing. This I have been told was owing to the manner in which they are rigged and stowed; which appears probable, since those taken in 1780 by admiral Rodney from M. de Langara, acquired under the management of the English, a celerity which they were not thought capable of receiving. The Spaniards, who disdain not to learn, even in the school of their enemies, are endeavouring, if the public prints are to be believed, to improve their ship-building according to the models which the success of war delivered into their hands.

M. Gautier is not the sole author of the change. He has not only formed artists who partake with him of the merit; but Spain has national ship-builders, who, without his aid, have improved their art, and will render his loss less sensible to the Spanish navy.

The displeasure of the minister had for some years

condemned M. Gautier to inactivity; and the court of France took this occasion to reclaim from her ally a subject, who seemed to have become useless. The king of Spain restored M. Gautier to his country, continuing to him the salary he enjoyed in the Spanish navy. He laid but one restriction upon this favour, and which does no less honour to the goodness of the monarch than to the talents of M. Gautier: This was that he should again dedicate his talents to the service of Spain, if hereafter need should require them.

The French revolution deprived him of this reward for his services, and Gautier died at Paris in 1800, in a situation that bordered on want. He would have finished his days in ease and prosperity had he remained in Spain, where former services are always remembered and rewarded.

After his return, I have heard him regretted, even by those who had opposed, or were hurt at his success, which proves, that in that nation, truly loyal and generous, justice gets the better of prejudices against foreigners.

My own experience has proved to me that these are exaggerated, or at least that they ought to be more excused. What other nation, in the same circumstances as that of Spain, would not have shewn more of this odious sentiment? Can it be supposed that when Louis XIV. pensioned learned foreigners; when he sought beyond his frontiers, renowned artists or skilful manufacturers, he did not excite against them the hatred of the French, who imagined they had a greater right to his bounty, or that their indignation rose not against the contempt shewn their talents by pensioning foreign industry? The self-love and patience of the Spaniards have, within the last century, been put to much severer proofs. In the retinue of the French prince, who came to receive their crown, there appeared a crowd of foreigners, who filled up all the avenues to the throne; French favourites, French valets de chambre, and French

confessors, surrounded the monarch. The princess of Ursins and the French ambassadors reigned by turns in the cabinet. A Frenchman repaired to Spain to reform their finances ;* and French generals were placed at the head of their armies.† Soon afterwards an Italian ecclesiastic,‡ invited by the second wife of Philip V. shook the monarchy by the agitation which his turbulent character endeavoured to excite in Europe; nor did his disgrace, the proper punishment of his tumultous administration, for a long time restore the Spaniards to their former state. A Dutchman,§ still more extravagant, gained the favour of the monarch, seized in one year on every dignity and every favour, and soon afterwards escaped loaded with the curses of the people, carrying from Spain nothing but the stigma of a state criminal. Under the succeeding monarch two foreign nations|| reigned in the midst of the Spaniards by the side of their throne. An Irish minister,¶ raised himself by that intrigue, of which the court was the theatre, but by the easiness of the yoke he imposed, his quality of foreigner was overlooked, and he preserved his influence under the new sovereign, Charles III. who quitted the throne of Naples for that of Spain. One of the Italians,** who accompanied the monarch, soon presided over the department of finances; and a few years afterwards, another Italian minister†† succeeded M. Wall. The discipline of the infantry was reformed by an

* M. Orray.

† The marshal de Tessé, the duke of Berwick, and the duke of Vendome.

‡ The abbé Alberoni.

§ Ripperda.

|| The English and the Italians; the former by M. Keen, their ambassador; the latter by the musician Farinelli.

¶ M. Wall.

** The marquis of Squilace.

†† The marquis of Grimaldi.

Irishman,* whilst two Frenchmen improved,† one the artillery, the other,‡ the building of ships. At London, Stockholm, Paris, Vienna, and Venice, the Spanish sovereign was represented by foreigners. § Strangers have established manufactures,|| and preside over the construction of great roads and canals,¶ direct sieges,** command armies††, cause plans of finance to be adopted,‡‡ and offer money to government upon the most advantageous terms.§§ In commercial places these are still the persons who discourage the Spaniards by their activity and success. At Barcelona, Valencia, Cadiz, Bilboa, and other great trading cities, the richest merchants are foreigners. I have frequently heard the hatred they inspire in Spain declaimed against. I confess, that if any thing has surprized me, it is the ease with which the Spaniards suffer them in their country, and the disposition they have to love them, provided they be not prevented by their haughty manners and insulting pretensions: and should some of the natives look upon them with an eye of envy, and be offended at the concourse of fortunate strangers, whose success of every kind seems incessantly to upbraid Spanish

* M. O'Reilly.

† M. Maretz.

‡ M. Gautier.

§ The prince Masserano, the count de Lacy, the marquis of Grimaldi before he became minister; the count de Mahoni, the marquis de Squilace after his retreat from the ministay.

|| At Valencia, Barcelona, Talaverna, Madrid, &c.

¶ M. le Maur.

** The same M. Le Maur at Mahon; M. de Arcon at Gibraltar.

†† The duke de Crillon at Mahon, and at the camp of St. Roche; the prince of Nassau on the floating batteries, &c. &c.

‡‡ M. Cabanus.

§§ The principal French commercial houses established at Madrid.

idleness and ignorance, would not this be excusable by that self-love which men in all countries have so much difficulty in conquering, and by that attachment so natural to national glory which may be honoured, if men will, by the fine name of patriotism.

But since the end of the last reign, the Spaniards have exclusively filled most of the places which were occupied by strangers. The influence of the French, the Irish, and above all that of the Italians, which was always repugnant to the Spanish nation, is almost at an end; and if we except the vice-royalty of Mexico, given to the Neapolitan marquis de Branciforte, brother-in-law to the Prince of Peace, and which at the end of two years was taken from him and confided to a Spaniard; the place of grand-master of the queen's household filled by the Neapolitan prince.

Raffadati, who died not long ago; and if we also except the prince de Castel Franco, an Italian on the side of his father, but Flemish by the mother, and who held the rank of a lieutenant-general in the Spanish service, and who had the command of the army against France, and a few other general officers, the Spaniards hold the chief places under the administration.

The three divisions in Europe of the navy of Spain, are not the only places where ships of war are built. There are dock-yards at the Havannah; and a fund of seven hundred thousand piastres was some time since established to carry on the works.

Spain and her colonies might have supplied all the timber necessary for the navy. In 1785, the ship-builders were of opinion, that with the help only of the colonies in America, Spain might have increased her navy by 50 ships, and supplied timber for those they already had in repair. The following are the resources they still possess in Europe.

Andalusia, which once produced the best white oak, is exhausted. The forests there do not produce

sufficient for the repairs in the department of Cadiz, which is obliged to purchase timber in Italy, and sometimes to make use of the cedars of the Havannah.

The department of Carthagena has no timber at hand, the nearest white oaks are in Catalonia.

That of Ferrol is supplied from the mountains of Burgos, Navarre, and the Asturias. But the forests of the first of these provinces are very much thinned. The two others are still very woody, but the timber is of inferior quality.

This scarcity of timber is chiefly caused by a measure taken without consideration by the government about the year 1756. Prior to their opening the ports for the transports, they cut down trees for the construction of 122 ships of the line. They could not find conveyance for more than 50, a great part rotted on the spot, the remainder was stolen, yet great resources are to be found in the colonies.

The plain of Cuba contains many cedars, although it has been thought to be exhausted by the quantities drawn from the country adjacent to the coasts. In those of Cumana also, there is timber fit for shipbuilding, and during the administration of M. le Bailli d'Arriaga, it was in contemplation to apply it to that use. But his death prevented the execution of the plan. How much is that nation to be pitied, where undertakings of such utility depend on the life of one man.

Spain is obliged to depend on the northern powers, at least for a supply of masts. According to the account which the bank of St. Charles gave in the year 1778, in consequence of its being charged with the furnishing of naval stores, it appears that from the first of December 1784, to the first of December 1785, upwards of eight millions and a half of reals were paid for masts alone, which were bought from the north. Spain is still obliged to employ Dutch vessels. She will be able to do without them, if the

direct commerce she has for some years carried on in the Baltic continues to prosper. She has already begun to establish connexions with Russia for naval stores. In the course of the year 1781, four Russian vessels unloaded their cargoes of hemp in the department of Ferrol, and took back wools from the neighbouring coasts.

They are still nearer the time of being independent of other powers for the hemp necessary for their navy. For many years they received from the north all they made use of in their navy; but at present the kingdom of Granada furnishes a great quantity, and some is obtained from Navarre and Arragon. At this moment most of the cordage, cables, and sail-cloth used in Spain, are made from hemp grown in the country, and are on this account of worse quality, as the officers of the French navy, which during the American war was supplied with them from the Spanish arsenals, may have observed.

The copper from Mexico and Peru is used for the sheathing the Spanish ships. There have been for some years two manufactories at Port Real, near Cadiz, and at Algesiras, where the sheets of copper are prepared.

Spain undoubtedly has still much to do to bring the navy to perfection, but in the last few years a great deal has been done towards a work of such magnitude.

Under Philip V. Spain purchased from the Dutch, vessels ready built, and the cordage necessary for her fleets and galleons; from the French her sail-cloths; copper from the Germans; tin and lead for the service of the artillery from the English; and galleys from the Genoese. She let her timber rot upon the ground, and neglected the cultivation of hemp. Solely intent on the mines of Mexico and Peru, of which the rich contributions only served to impoverish the state, she neglected to work her own mines, which might have contributed to defend it; and thus war became

doubly burthensome to the nation. The evil became still greater under the reign of Charles II. but the succeeding monarchs have roused Spain from her fatal stupor. Spain has now at least such a navy as puts her on a level with other maritime powers. In the European wars that country had not for a long time taken any very active part, but the neighbouring states on the Barbary shore, furnished frequent occasions to them from an entire inactivity. However, in these short and obscure wars, there is seldom an opportunity for the Spanish officers to distinguish themselves. Barcelo, who, from being the master of a vessel attained the highest rank in the navy, is almost the only one who owes his great reputation to similar expeditions.

Among these states there are two that keep in constant service part of the navy and even of the army of Spain, these are Algiers and Morocco.

These powers are not very formidable, particularly their navy, which they have scarcely any means of fitting out, if commercial powers did not supply them with provisions and other naval stores.

It is ten or twelve years since the naval force of the emperor of Morocco was reduced to 22 or 23 ships of war, the largest of which were only frigates of 22 guns. The land forces however are not to be despised, at least in point of numbers, as every male is a soldier from the age of twelve years. With this undisciplined army, the emperor of Morocco has attempted several times, and always without success, to take Mellilla from the Spaniards; this place is situated at the eastern extremity of Spain.

The Algerines are at present, or at least have been for a long time enemies as inveterate and more formidable. They had, about fifteen or sixteen years ago, five ships of from 24 to 34 guns, three xebecks of 10, 18, and 20, four half galleys and three galliots. With this force they annoyed the Spaniards, till, in the year 1784, the court of Madrid lost all patience, and hav-

ing disposed of the war with England, determined to attempt the destruction of this den of pirates. Algiers was bombarded by admiral Barçelo for eight successive days, near four hundred houses were damaged, but the buildings belonging to the government sustained but little injury. The Spanish squadron consisted of seventy sail, some of which were ships of the line, and six frigates; they lost but one chaloup; but this fruitless expedition cost the Spaniards four hundred soldiers, and fifteen hundred quintals of powder.

The expedition of the following year, also commanded by admiral Barcelo, was still more fruitless, although three other powers, Portugal, Malta, and Naples, had united against the Algerines with part of their naval force. The whole fleet consisted of 130 sail. The Algerines defended themselves with spirit, and proved to the combined forces of their enemies, that it must be a still greater force to subdue them, and that if the den of robbers deserved the indignation of all the commercial powers, they were not entirely objects of contempt.

In the interval of these two expeditions the resentment of the Spanish government was a little abated, and gave way to the attempts at negotiation, which the minister, suspicious and jealous of our intercourse with the Algerines, took great care to conduct, without giving France any information on the subject. This negotiation failed and the second expedition took place.

The Spanish minister was determined to repeat the attempts against the Algerines every year, till impoverished and fatigued, they should be obliged to accommodate matters with Spain. Nevertheless he was dissuaded by the representations of the officers who had conducted the expedition; and negotiations were renewed with Algiers through count d'Expilly, who was half a Frenchman and half an Austrian: the business was then confided to admiral Mazaredeo, who

for that purpose was sent to Algiers. When the party who did not wish for peace saw a stranger on the eve of bringing it to a conclusion, they determined to deprive him of the glory. The Spanish negotiator exceeded the instructions of those by whom he was employed, and his too rapid success had nearly occasioned his disgrace. All these negotiations were not carried on without the knowledge of France, but without consulting her on the subject. The Spaniards persisted in believing that the Algerines had been furnished with supplies by the commerce of Marseilles, and at least suspected that the cabinet of Versailles gave countenance to the ill-disposition of the Marseillois towards Spain; however this might be, the gold of that country had more efficacy with the government of Algiers than all its bombs. Florida Blanca, who some months before had said boastingly, and had caused the same thing to be inserted in the court gazette, that "Spain had given a lesson to Europe, in what manner those barbarians should be treated;" "that she had finished a striking example to the powers who had the cowardice to continue tributary to them:" this minister pursuing the same system, thought that he had rendered his country a vast service, in purchasing a peace with the government of Algiers, at the price of more than 14,000,000 of reals.

The administration of M. Florida Blanca, which continued fifteen years, was not without some eclat, nor even without success. He was attached to his country, and served it, if not with superior abilities, at least with loyalty and disinterestedness. The nobleness of his sentiments made amends for the roughness of his character, and the irritability of his disposition, and besides he merited the greatest esteem for the firmness with which he supported an undeserved disgrace. His conduct, however, towards the Algerines, was neither the wisest nor most brilliant part of his administration.

After the peace, concluded in the year 1785, Spain had still some disagreements with the Algerines: convinced at length that the possession of Oran and of Mazalquivir, which were situated on the coast of Algiers, would be a perpetual source of misunderstanding between them, and that the possession of these places was of no real utility, that the situation of them encouraged the desertion of their troops, and that besides these considerations that Oran had recently experienced two misfortunes at once, a siege by the bey of Mascara, and an earthquake, which had reduced it to a heap of rubbish, Spain towards the end of the year 1791, determined to give up the possession of this place, and that of Mazalquivir, in favour of the Algerine government, reserving only some commercial privileges.

Thus the famous conquest of cardinal Ximenes, returned to the dominion of the barbarians.

On the 26th of February, 1792, 6,500 men, which was nearly the whole of the Spanish population of Oran, evacuated the town, and at Mazalquivir embarked for Carthagena.

Oran could not have been kept without great useless expense. It required at least 4000 men for its defence. There were four intrenchments placed in the amphitheatre which were necessary to guard a reservoir of water, without which it would be impossible to exist at Oran, and which the Moors had several times attempted to cut off. It was wise therefore for Spain to give up the possession of these two places. And it would be as much so, if she was also to give up in the same manner, those places on the coast of Africa, which are equally burthensome and chargeable. At Ceuta, for example, Spain maintains several thousand galley slaves, or convicts, under the name of presidiarios. Those who are in chains, naked, or covered with rags, and who are occupied in the most laborious employments, amount to the number of four or five thousand. The remainder, who are not

so numerous, enjoy a sort of liberty, and seek employment themselves. Both one and the other receive the same pay, which is extremely small: among these outcasts of the human race, may be found, to the disgrace of humanity and justice, murderers and depraved wretches of every description; these without any distinction are confounded with smugglers, deserters, and other unfortunate beings, who expiate in this contagious society, crimes of less magnitude.

The navy, which led me to this digression, naturally conducts me to the subject of the commerce of Spain, without which that service could not exist.

The commerce of Spain is perhaps divided into more branches than that of any other power in the world.

At the æra of its greatest splendour, it was impossible for it to be more active. Foreign merchants went into the centre of the kingdom to exchange their merchandize against the productions of the soil and manufactures. But under the successors of Charles V. these advantages vanished, and Spain, during a long time, was confined to a passive commerce. At present, although agriculture and industry be still far from the prosperity to which they tend, had Spain only herself to furnish with the merchandize she wants, that which she sends into neighbouring kingdoms might perhaps balance what she receives from them.

In the first place she possesses all the necessaries of life in abundance. We have spoken of her wools; and when we treat of Valencia, we shall see what resources she derives from her silk. Her brandies, rich wines, fruits, barilla, &c. form for the eastern and southern coasts, a considerable branch of exportation. She makes all the common wines necessary to the consumption of the kingdom. Agriculture, if more encouraged, would furnish corn sufficient for home consumption, and leave a surplus for exportation.

Notwithstanding the present backward state of the country, some of the provinces, as Andalusia and Old Castile, produce more corn than they can consume; but the difficulty of inland carriage renders this fertility almost useless to the rest of the kingdom, which is sometimes at the mercy of foreigners, whilst certain districts enjoy abundance.

Besides being obliged by the periodical journeys of the sheep, and the privileges of the mesta, extended to the proprietors of permanent flocks, to leave his fields open in all seasons, and that from the day after harvest to that on which he sows them again, they are less his property than that of the public; nor can he depend upon a certain market for the surplus of their productions. Until the reign of Charles III. the exportation of grain had been prohibited almost without interruption, and the price of corn invariably fixed. The inconvience of these shackles was at length perceived. M. de Campomanes, at that time fiscal of the council of Castile, had long condemned the measure, but was almost the only person in power who gave himself any concern about it. At length, aided by the monarch, whom he had persuaded to adopt his opinion, he took off the prohibition.

In 1765, it was established by a royal mandate, that the interior commerce should be absolutely free; that it should be permitted to store it in magazines, but that these should be public; and that to supply pressing necessities corn should be taken thence at the current price; that a power should be granted to take grain from the magazines, when, after three successive markets, it should have continued at a certain price; that corn from abroad might be introduced and stored in magazines within the country as far as six leagues from the sea; but not further, unless that in three successive markets of the neighbouring districts it had not exceeded the price at which it ought to be sold to enable the purchaser to make exportations. The representations from some provinces, and the measures

of the council of Castile, occasioned several alterations in this regulation. The exportation of grain was prohibited in 1769; but the regulation of 1765 was wholly re-established by the mandate of the month of February 1783.

These variations must increase the timidity and indolence of cultivators. To encourage them to derive all possible advantages from their lands, a more permanent law would be necessary, and one especially which should be better observed. For that which permits exportation is incessantly eluded by the caprice or avarice of the alcaldes and governors of the frontiers; and when nothing is opposed to its application, there are still many formalities to go through, before the exportation can take place. This is therefore rare, and but to a trifling degree in the manner authorized by law. The slow, painful, and expensive manner of carriage in Spain, is an insurmountable obstacle to the smuggling of that quantity of corn from the kingdom which is supposed to leave it illegally.

The small quantity of legal exportations can therefore be attributed to nothing but the continual mediocrity of the harvests; it is certain that Galicia and Asturias frequently receive corn from abroad, although the people there consume a great deal of Turkey wheat; that Biscay takes some from the province of Alava, from Navarre, and Arragon, and sometimes from foreign nations by the way of St. Sebastian; that all the eastern coast of Spain is in continual want of supply, and that the kingdom of Valencia receives it from abroad, when La Mancha, in which corn almost constantly abounds, cannot furnish it with a sufficient quantity; and, lastly, that Andalusia, notwithstanding its fertility, receives grain from other countries by means of its ports of Cadiz and Malaga. The exportation of grain could not be advantageously made, except by the frontiers of Portugal. This kingdom seldom reaps enough for its own

consumption, and the neighbouring Spanish provinces might produce it in abundance.

There is no considerable superfluity of corn in any province of Spain, except in Old Castile, and this is sent from St. Ander, and some neighbouring ports in Galicia, Asturia, Andalusia, and even from France; this happened in 1782 and 1783, when the southern provinces of that kingdom were threatened with a dearth. This exportation is not made without great opposition from the rooted prejudices of Old Castile, which however ought not to weigh against experience; since the regulation of 1765 was justified by an increase of almost a third in the produce.

About the same time, a measure was adopted for the encouragement of agriculture, by instituting the positos. These are magazines of corn, established in upwards of five thousand cities, towns, and villages in the kingdom, to insure subsistence to the people against all accidents, and to prevent alarms, which in such cases are often equivalent to real evils. When it is intended to establish one of these positos in any place, the municipal corps (ayuntamiento) obliges every inhabitant who has a field, either in fee or at a quit-rent, to contribute thereto a certain number of fanegues (a measure of wheat weighing, in some places, ninety pounds) the price of which is about four livres tournois (3s. 4d.) The year following, the inhabitant takes back what he has furnished, and substitutes for it another quantity, something more considerable; and thus in the following years until the whole of the different quantities deposited, which is called creces, has sufficiently filled the magazine.

But this period is retarded at the will of avarice, and there are few positos in Spain, the management of which does not enrich the administrators at the expense of the poorer classes of the people. However, for several years they have endeavoured to remedy these abuses, and re-establish the positos according to their original destination, that they may

tend to the encouragement of cultivators, and seem determined, if possible, to apply the exceedings to the assistance of those who may be in want of grain for sowing their lands. These public magazines, which in practice are burthensome to the poor, and but a feeble resource to the rich, must not be confounded with the magazines of corn, established in several places, by the charity of individuals, to furnish poor husbandmen with the means of sowing their lands. Besides these, there are at Valencia and Malaga other beneficent establishments, whose object likewise is the encouragement of agriculture. These are named erarios, and consists of funds destined to make advances in money to labourers, for a year only. These funds were taken from the produce of the spolios y vacantes.

The permission to export grain, the establishment of the positos, and like remedies, will be but feeble palliatives of the evil which still occasions agriculture to languish in Spain, until internal communication shall be facilitated by making the roads passable in all seasons.

The agriculture of Spain was formerly in a much better state, particularly in the time of the Moors. Of this there has lately appeared an unanswerable proof in the publication of the manuscript of an Arabian doctor who lived in the twelfth century, and which had lain buried in the dust of the manuscripts in the Escurial, till the year 1751, and which at length has been translated, and was published in 1802. It appears by this work, which displays a fund of erudition in the author, particularly on the subject of agriculture, that the science was brought to an uncommon degree of perfection in Spain, and speaks of many useful vegetable productions which were extremely suited to the soil, many of these are almost intirely foreign to the climate in our days; such as the sugar cane and several sorts of rice, which flourishes without any great supply of water; the cotton tree,

the pistachio nut, the banana, sesame, &c. &c. without reckoning many other plants, more exclusively appropriated to the taste and manners of the Arabs.

Agriculture might soon be a great source of wealth to Spain if it was more encouraged. Nothing can equal the natural fertility of many of the provinces, where the grain is of a very superior quality. As a proof of this, it has sometimes been known that the corn of Andalusia, produced at Seville almost double the price of that of the northern provinces, as valued in Cadiz.

At present the interior commerce of Spain chiefly consists in wine and oil, which are carried in leathern bottles by mules or asses from one province to another; in grain, which in like manner, by the aid of beasts of burden, is the superfluity of one district transferred to another, to prevent the scarcity to which that other may be exposed; and in wool sent from the sheep-folds and washing-places of Castile to Bilboa, St. Ander, and some other ports of the northern coast. Materials necessary to the manufactures and merchandize, which from the ports and frontiers pass into the interior parts of the kingdom, are transported thither by the same slow, and consequently expensive conveyance.

Spain is not much farther advanced in the coasting trade. Excepting the vessels of Catalonia and those of Biscay, the carrying trade along the coast is almost wholly in the hands of the French, Dutch, and English, three nations which have the advantage of being more active, and who know how to navigate their vessels at a less expense, and with fewer hands than the Spaniards. What has hitherto obliged Spain to employ a great number of sailors, is the state of perpetual war she is in against the Moors of Barbary, which has besides the inconvenience of diminishing the confidence her flag might inspire. The government is in a fair way to remove this chief obstacle to the prosperity of Spanish navigation in the Mediterranean.

In this point of view particularly it is that Spain acts but a passive part. I shall soon convince my readers of this by taking a view of the coasts. In the first place those of Catalonia are an exception. But few of the reproaches alledged against the Spaniards are applicable to the Catalonians. When we cross their well-cultivated province, and see it full of manufactures of various kinds, we find it difficult to believe it belongs to Spain. The port of Barcelona exports its silks, middling cloths, and cottonades, its wines, brandies, and other productions; and if we wish to judge of the part the Catalonians take in this commerce, it must be observed that in 1782, of six hundred and twenty-eight vessels which entered Barcelona, three hundred and seventeen belonged to Spain. It is true that silks from Lyons, stockings from Nimes, several kinds of stuffs and cottons, notwithstanding the prohibition, and particularly dried cod, an article for which Spain is yet tributary to the English in the sum of three millions of piastres, pass into Catalonia by the same port.

It is a remarkable singularity in the history of commerce, that a protestant nation should furnish a catholic kingdom with an article which that nation only can prepare according to the taste of the consumers, by fetching from their own coast the salt necessary to cure the fish taken upon the banks of Newfoundland, an island discovered by the Spaniards, and where they long exercised the right of fishery; and as if this species of servitude were irrevocably decreed by fate, all the attempts hitherto made to substitute fish taken on the coasts of Biscay and Asturias, resembling English cod, have been ineffectual, and have proved that laws, policy, and even interest, disappear before the caprices of taste.

The other ports of Catalonia are much in the same situation as that of Barcelona. Tarragona, and the neighbouring ports receive, in addition, some articles of necessity, and export dry fruits. Tortosa exports

or imports wheat, according as the harvests of Arragon and Catalonia are good or bad; but the principal article of exportation is pot-ash.

A considerable commerce is also carried on in the ports upon the coast of Valencia, and which is chiefly in favour of France. The French send to Valencia linens, woollens, hardware, spiceries, and grain, to almost as great an amount as the wines, wool, dried fruits, pot-ash, and barilla, which they take from thence. They go to Gandia in search of the wool used by the manufacturers of Languedoc and Elbeuf, and carry with them French cloths, silks, linens, hardware, and cocoa. The English also carry thither their cloths; and the Dutch export thence the brandies of the country, to transport them to the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne.

The commerce of Alicant is less disadvantageous to Spanish navigators. Of nine hundred and sixty-one vessels, which arrived in this port in 1782, six hundred were Spanish, the greatest part Catalonian. French linens, those of Switzerland and Silesia, French camblets, and some woollens, are brought thither, and the return is in dried fruit, wool, barilla, &c. The port of Alicant is the mart for almost all the merchandize from the ports of the Mediterranean, which are destined for the consumption of Spain.

Alicant suffered considerably from the last war with the English. This port has not since been much frequented but by neutral vessels. Among the articles exported by this city, is a species of cochineal, called grana, which is used for the same purposes as the cochineal of America, although it is in some respects inferior. These coloured insects are gathered on the oak trees which abound in the environs of Bussots, a few leagues from Alicant.

The salt which bears the name of this city, is not properly a production of the place, but is formed by two ponds which are very near each other, and with-

out any communication with the sea; these are called la Mata, and Torre Vecchia, and are about half way between Alicant and Carthagena. The evaporation caused by a burning sun, covers the surface of these ponds with a sort of scum which is collected in the month of August in a dry season, but hasty rains sometimes occasion the failure of this produce.

The ponds of la Mata and Torre Vecchia, are two inexhaustible sources of salt, which might supply all Europe with that commodity. Their produce, which is annually from twenty to forty millions of pounds weight, is carried to Alicant, from whence it is fetched by the northern nations, and particularly by the English and the Swedes, who export of it annually about three hundred thousand barrels of three hundred pounds each.

The wines of Alicant are of many sorts, but they are chiefly consumed in Spain.

Almost all the wines which bear the name of Alicant, are the produce of the environs of that city. The vineyards begin half a league from the walls, in the canton of Alicant, called Huerta de Alicant, which owe their astonishing fertility to a pond in the vicinity, which supplies these vineyards with water. This pond, which belongs to the king, is surrounded by a wall sixty feet in height, and sufficiently broad for three carriages to go on it abreast. This is one of the relics of the Moors who have left throughout Spain many traces of their industry.

To Carthagena, the English, Dutch, and Neapolitans, carry merchandize of all kinds, and return, loaded with silk, wool, pot-ash, and barilla.

Almeria is a small port, the principal commerce of which is in the hands of the French, whose ships carry thither the productions of their manufactures, and return loaded with lead, pot-ash, &c.

Wine and fruits are exported from Velez, Malaga, and Marbella.

Malaga has a very considerable commerce, the

advantage of which is entirely in favour of Spain, but almost without any of its navigation; of eight hundred and forty-two vessels which arrived at this port in 1782, from almost every commercial nation, scarcely a hundred were Spanish, even reckoning the ships of war which anchored there. The English, who are in possession of the greatest part of the trade, carry thither woollens and great quantities of small ware; the Dutch carry spice, cutlery ware, laces, ribbons, thread, &c. These nations, those of the north, and Italy, export to the amount of two millions and a half of piastres in wines, fruits, sumach, pickled anchovies, oil, &c. and all they carry thither amounts only to about a million and a half. The balance would be still more advantageous for Malaga, if the silk and wool of the kingdom of Granada, were exported from this port; but these are employed in the country where they are produced.

Cadiz, the commerce of which I shall not here mention, because I shall speak of it at some length in another place, is a striking proof of the inactivity of Spanish navigation. A thousand and thirty-three vessels arrived there in 1782, of which but fifty belonged to Spain. The neighbouring little ports of St. Lucar and St. Mary, in like manner, afford but little employment for the vessels of the nation.

If we pass from the coasts of Andalusia to the northern coasts of Spain, we shall find the French, English, and Dutch in possession of the trade from Vigo, Ferrol, and particularly from Corunna, and which mostly consists in importation; for the pilchards, cattle, and common linens, the only articles Galicia has to export, serve to pay the balance due to the neighbouring provinces.

Corunna owes to the reign of Charles III. a feeble commerce of exportation, which it has to America by the packet-boats, of which one sails every month for Vera Cruz, and passes by the Canaries, Porto-Rico, and Cuba. Another sails every two months for

Cumana and Carthagena in the Indies; and a third, also every two months, for Monte Video. By these means, correspondence is preserved with the interior of the Spanish colonies, which also have thus a periodical communication with the metropolis. The conveyance of packets and passengers to the different parts of Spanish America, is the principal object of this regulation; but it occasionally furnishes the means of exportation to the productions of Galicia. They employ about eight thousand sailors, and enliven the circumjacent countries.

The number of packet boats employed when the war broke out in the year 1779, were eighteen. Several of them fell into the hands of the enemy. The same thing happened during the following wars, which made the communications between Spain and her colonies extremely difficult.

At present there is at Corunna, for the convenience of this periodical correspondence, five merchant ships, one of 390 tons, and four of 120; three brigantines, and one corvette. There are also four vessels from 60 to 100 tons, and at Porto Rico there are two schooners.

But to return to the commerce, and the coasts of Spain.

Upon the coast of Asturias there are eighteen ports, scarcely known to have a name, the trade of which is almost exclusively in the hands of the Dutch. A little before the late war the English and French, who had been driven from them by preceding wars, appeared there again with linens, woollens, and small wares. Some vessels from the country however sail to France and England in search of what is necessary to supply the wants of the province; and since the establishment of a free commerce with America, the trade of Gijon, the most important of these ports, has begun to acquire some activity.

The country adjacent to Asturias is called the Montanas de Burgos; and is one of the districts of Spain

the most unprovided with resources. Government permitted this, when it permitted this district to receive the necessaries of life duty free. The treasury was not long before it repented of the concession, under favour of which all sorts of foreign merchandize were introduced by the ports of this coast, and administration has recently taken measures to prevent future abuses.

Saint Ander is the principal of these ports; it receives, by about a hundred French vessels, every thing they can furnish to consumption of every kind. These ships return loaded with wool for the manufactures of France, and corn for the other Spanish provinces, and sometimes for those of their own kingdom. The English export from St. Ander the same articles, in exchange for cod, oil, fish, &c. Some Dutch and Hamburgh vessels trade thither also. The establishment of a free commerce has begun to animate the national navigation. The neighbouring ports, such as those of Suances, Comillas, and St. Vincent de Barquera carry on a little coasting trade with the barks of the country. Santona, which has an excellent port, sends some vessels loaded with chesnuts to Holland, and a few cargoes of lemons to France.

The trade of this coast, which, as we have seen, is almost wholly in the hands of foreigners, approaches to an equality with that of Biscay, the most active commerce in Spain after that of Catalonia.

The principal ports of Biscay, Bilboa, the Passage, and St. Sebastian, are much frequented by the English French, and Dutch, who carry thither the productions of their industry, and return with iron, wool, and anchors. But the Biscayans are not idle spectators; they furnish in a great measure foreign merchandize to the Mediterranean provinces, and their ships have a constant communication with the other ports of the the peninsula, and those of France, England, and Holland

A few words upon the trade of the Mediterranean

islands, which make a part of the crown of Arragon, will complete this slight sketch of the comerce of Spain.

The island of Majorca, the principal one of the three, produces wine and fruits which are sent to Spain, some brandies, taken by vessels from the north, a little silk which goes to Catalonia, and coarse wools sent to Sardinia and Italy. It receives corn from the French and Italian ports, cattle from those of Languedoc and Catalonia, and rice and silks from the coasts of the kingdom of Valencia. The English, Genoese, and Dutch, carry to it all the other articles of which it has need. The people of Majorca, like the inhabitants of most islands, have an inclination and aptitude for navigation. Their ship-timber is made use of at Palma, which is their principal port, and the capital of the island; they fetch cocoa, sugar, iron, and planks from Marseilles; and their xebecks go to Cadiz, where they take in cargoes. Their flag, more exposed than any other to the insults of the rovers of Barbary, their fierce neighbours, may hereafter be displayed with greater security in the Mediterranean, and their port of Palma being one of those which, since 1778, has a right to trade with Spanish America, must still increase their industry.

This for a long time will not be rivalled by their neighbours, the inhabitants of Minorca. This island, unfruitful and almost without industry, was furnished with every thing by foreign vessels, and particularly by those of France before it was conquere Spa n.

Ivica, the third of the islands anciently called the Balearic, exports but little, and receives its supplies of necessaries from Majorca and the coasts of Spain. Its principal riches consist in salt, of which foreign ships, particularly Swedish, come thither to take in their cargoes.

These accounts are more than sufficient to prove that the commerce the Spaniards have with foreigners is but passive. But the extension of the free c m-merce with Spanish America, has already operated in

their favour, and the advantages will certainly continue to increase, as will be explained hereafter.

After the conquest of Spanish America, the court of Madrid confided the administration of that country to a permanent council, under the name of the Council of the Indies, which still subsists, with nearly the same laws and principles, that, according to circumstances, were at first adopted. The form of administration which government gave, at the same time, to its vast possessions, is no part of my subject. I shall say no more of it than what will be necessary to give a proper knowledge of modern Spain, with respect to her connexions with her colonies.

The council of the Indies is, in many respects, modelled upon the council of Castile: like the latter it is composed of several chambers, two of which are especially charged with affairs of administration, and the third with the decision of law suits. It has also its *camara*, composed of the oldest counsellors, one of whose principal functions is to propose to the king, by means of his minister, such persons as it judges proper to fill the places in Spanish America. It is by this council also that the laws and regulations by which that country is governed are framed. This having been the permanent depositary of the fundamental laws upon which the constitution of Spanish America was at first erected, it has been, and perhaps too obstinately, an enemy to all measures by which it might undergo any change.

One of these laws confined the commerce of Spain, with her colonies to a single port; at first that of Seville: but when the Guadalquivir, which in the time of Charles V. was navigable up to this port, became inaccessible to large vessels, the centre of the Spanish American commerce was removed to Cadiz. The manner in which it was carried on is generally known.

At stated times a fleet sailed to Mexico to furnish a supply of such articles as were necessary for that coun-

try, and bring back the productions of that part of America to Cadiz. At the same time galleons sailed for Porto Bello. In this port was held a kind of fair, the rendezvous of all the merchants from the other Spanish colonies. This was continued until the war which begun in 1739, when register ships were substituted for galleons. But the fleet for Mexico, and the register ships, continued to sail from Cadiz.

The coast of Caracas also received its supply of merchandize. The care of furnishing this had been confided by Philip V. to a company which took the name of that of Guipuscoa, from the province in which it was instituted, and the ports whence the vessels sailed. The company enjoyed all the advantages of an exclusive privilege, without having received it in form.

A bad administration, by enriching the agents, and exciting complaints from the settlers at Caracas has occasioned it to decline. The check it received at the beginning of the American war * gave it the finishing stroke; the company then felt the burthen too heavy to be supported, and prayed the king for his assistance.

His catholic majesty released the company from the obligation it was under to keep garda costas, which were an expense of two hundred thousand piastres per ann. though they did not do their duty, as the settlers of Caracas received much more merchandize from smugglers than from the company.

The experiment made in favour of the settlers of Caracas by Philip V. was a step towards new attempts

* I mean the taking of the convoy from Biscay in the month of January 1780, by Admiral Rodney. The loss sustained by the company on this occasion was estimated at fifteen hundred thousand dollars: and it was said, that sum was equal to the whole real property of the company.

of the same kind. In 1755 Ferdinand VI. permitted a company of merchants at Barcelona to send out ships to St Domingo, Porto Rico, and Margaretta; but the privilege was clogged with so many restrictions that the company made no use of it.

In 1763, the dawn of a new day began to appear in Spanish America. Several understanding persons had perceived and wished to make government sensible of the inconvenience of confining to a single port, and to periodical voyages, all the commerce of the extensive colonies in that quarter of the world. An attachment to old forms for a long time rendered their remonstrances ineffectual: two arguments were opposed to them, which were the more embarrassing as they were the result of the experience of two distant periods. It was observed that under Charles V. a free commerce had been attempted to be established, but that soon afterwards it was found necessary to restore the former restrictions. It was further added, that from 1748 to 1754, register ships had sailed from other ports of Spain than that of Cadiz; and that the numerous failures which followed in consequence, soon caused the measure to be abandoned. But those who made these objections did not observe that more precautions on the part of government, and regulations better adapted to the time and the nature of the different expeditions, must have prevented the ruinous speculations of the new adventurers; that Spanish America, better known by its wants than its resources, at least to government, could no longer embarrass merchants with the same obstacles, provided they submitted their operations to its inspection. The wants of the Spanish colonies daily increased; and obliging all the vessels which went to relieve them to depart from one port, was on one hand exposing the colonists to a monopoly, and on the other leaving too great an opening to the speculations of smugglers.

A tarif drawn up in 1720, seemed to have been calculated for the advantage of those who pursued

this illicit trade. It loaded with duties of export to America the productions of the mother countries, such as iron, wines, brandies, oil, &c. It established the duty of Palmeo, which was received upon the bales, not according to the quality of the merchandize but in proportion to their dimensions; a duty which thus favoured high priced articles, that occupy but little space, at the expense of those which require considerable room, and rendered it impossible to take any account of the quantity or quality of foreign stuffs shipped for the colonies. The tarif moreover subjected the manufactures of Spain to the same duties as those from foreign countries; in a word, it prescribed a number of formalities perplexing to legal commerce; and smuggling added to the advantage of eluding them, that of defrauding government of duties of exportation and importation to the amount of seventy per cent. The English had so much profited by this, that according to calculations, which I have reason to believe exact, their contraband trade produced them after the peace of 1763 twenty millions of piastres per annum.

The court of Spain lost no time in endeavouring to frame other regulations for a part of the colonies. By a decree of the 16th of October 1783, several European ports were permitted to trade immediately with the Caribbees, and the provinces of Campeachy, St. Martha, and Rio de la Hacha. The decree diminished the duties of the fatal tarif of 1720, and dispensed with many formalities. Its effect was not at first very sensible. The Spaniards, ever tardily circumspect, were not eager to enter this new channel.

The island of Cuba became the principal object of speculation. Yet in 1770 this island, which, well cultivated, might supply all Europe with sugar, did not furnish enough for the consumption of Spain. Speculators have since become more enterprizing. Government has given new encouragement to the trade with the Havannah, especially by facilitating the importa-

tion of negroes, by a considerable diminution of the duty paid on their being carried thither. The company exclusively permitted to furnish them, had almost ruined itself in the undertaking; but these new measures soon gave it the means of repairing its losses. The island of Cuba, which had constantly languished under the auspices of the exclusive company of the Havannah, began from that moment sensibly to prosper. Before the year 1765, it scarcely received into its ports six ships in a year; in 1778, its commerce gave employment to more than two hundred. Its crops of sugar were more than sufficient to supply the demands of Spain.

Like successes justified the measures taken in 1765, and invited the court of Spain still further to enlarge its plan. The department of the Indies had just been bestowed on Galvez, whose enterprizing character, knowledge, and experience permitted him not to remain satisfied with such timid experiments. By a decree of the 2d of February, 1778, the free commerce was extended to the province of Buenos Ayres, and the kingdoms of Chili and Peru; and by another decree, of the 16th of October following, to the vice-royalty of Santa-Fé, and the province of Guatimala. It therefore was now permitted to all Spanish America, except Mexico.

The decree of the 16th of October, admitted to a participation in it the ports of Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, Alicant, Carthagena, Barcelona, St. Ander, Gijon, Corunna, Palma in the island of Majorca, and St. Croix in Teneriffe, one of the Canary islands.

As all ships which should hereafter sail from these ports were to pass by the custom-houses, those of Biscay, one of the privileges of which consists in not having any such houses, were by the silence of the new regulation excluded from this trade. The regulation of 1778 extends the free commerce to twenty-four ports of Spanish America, and favours, by lower-

ing the duties, such of them as were in need of that advantage to be frequented.

This is not the only proof of beneficent policy contained in the regulation. One of the principal objects of its author, was to encourage the productions of the soil and manufactures of the mother country. In consequence of which, several articles are there exempt from duties for ten years from the date of the decree; such as woollens, cotton, and linens of the manufacture of Spain; hats, steel, glass, and a hundred other articles, of which the enumeration would be too tedious.

With the same view the regulation actually excluded many articles of foreign merchandize, such as cotton stuffs, half-beaver hats, silk stockings, and liquors of all kinds, as wine, oil, brandy, and others, known in Spain by the appellation of caldos.

And still more to excite the Spaniards to export to the Indies the productions of their country, the regulation exempts from a third of the duty every vessel wholly laden with national merchandize.

The regulation of 1778 tends not less to the prosperity of the colonies than to that of the mother country: it wholly exempts from duty, on being shipped from America, a great quantity of the productions of the country, as cotton, sugar, cochineal, indigo, coffee, copper, jesuit's-bark, and all productions, as well of the Spanish Indies as of the Philippines, which have not yet been brought to Europe.

The precious metals of America make a separate article. Gold, on entering Spain, paid a duty of five per cent. and silver one of ten per cent. The regulation in 1778 fixed these duties at two and five and a half per cent. and, had the minister had it in his power, the duty of four per cent. upon the exportation of dollars, would, in like manner, have been reduced one-half. Certain articles of merchandize coming from the Indies are necessary to the Spaniards,

who consume or manufacture them. The exportation of these to foreign kingdoms is absolutely prohibited by the regulation; the principal ones are silver in ingots, gold in every form, spun cotton, and ship timber, &c.

America produces many other articles little known in Europe, and of which Spain ought to favour the exportation. The regulation which exempts them from export duties on leaving the Indies, extends the exemption to their exportation from Spain. Such are certain woods, gums, plants, and drugs with which America abounds. These may supply luxurious enjoyments, and preserve or restore the health of the inhabitants of the old Continent; and though placed by nature at a distance from them, ought long since to have been rendered common in Europe by commerce.

All these measures would have been insufficient, if the court of Madrid had suffered the numerous duties established by the tarif of 1720 to remain.

The new regulation abolishes them all, and substitutes in their stead a single duty, which is a certain part of their value. It is accompanied by a tarif, in which the various articles of merchandize are estimated; iron by weight, cloths by measure, stuffs by the piece, and other articles by the dozen. Those which cannot be thus valued, are taken at the current price of the manufactories whence they come, if they be Spanish; or according to the price they bear in the port in which they were shipped, if foreign.

According to these different valuations, which, as it appears, leave but little room for arbitrary decisions, the tarif subjects all national merchandize to a duty of three per cent. and foreign goods to one of seven per cent. when either are shipped for any one of the great ports of America; that is to say, the Havannah, Carthagena, Buenos Ayres, Monte-Video, Callao, Arica, Guyaquil, Valparayso, and Conception; and

the duty is but one and a half, or four per cent. when national or foreign merchandize is shipped for one of the lesser Indian ports.

Notwithstanding the wisdom of the intentions with which the regulation was drawn up, it excited many complaints. It left, said the complainants, much to be desired with respect to the encouragement meant to be given to national productions; some of which were highly taxed, such as iron, oil, wines, brandies, &c. Why did it still leave the duties to which woollens, linens, cottons, silks, &c. were subject in passing from one province to another? On the other hand, why were articles of foreign manufacture excluded from the commerce of America, to which the national manufactures could not long be sufficient, particularly the article of silk stockings? Was not this inviting the manufactures of Spain, convinced of their inability, to engage with foreigners for a supply? And must not this necessary succour, easy to be obtained in spite of prohibitions, cause their manufactures to languish by favouring idleness.

The heaviest complaint was against the troublesome formalities to which the regulation subjected the expeditions from the ports of Spain to America. Merchants were exposed to the caprices of favour and the inconvenience of delay, which, added to a duty of seven per cent. to be eluded as well in exports as imports, and to absolute prohibitions of certain articles of merchandize, could not but offer seducing advantages to contraband speculations.

Could the name of a free trade, said the complainants, be given to commerce thus shackled, for each operation of which an express permission was necessary from the minister; which intrigue, unwillingness, the slowness of the forms of office and intermediate agents might delay too long, and consequently render useless? Instead of the advantages of liberty, prohibitions, threats, and punishments, it was added, had been annexed to each article of the regulation.

The merchants of Cadiz were the chief complainants. These only had hitherto had connexions with Spanish America; they were the only persons who had capitals sufficient for such distant expeditions, of which the returns were exposed to every kind of hazard. The associates given them would, said they, engage in ruinous speculations, which without benefiting the colonies would be a real loss to the commerce of Cadiz. The voice of self-interest was easily distinguished in these complaints. The experience of a few years has already been sufficient to determine whether or not they were well founded.

The following is an account of the effects of this regulation, on seven of the chief ports of Spain, which in the year 1778, were all that were allowed to take part in the free trade.

Ships sent out in 1778.

From Cadiz - - - -	63
From Corunna - - - - -	25
From Barcelona - - - -	23
From Malaga - - - -	34
From St. Ander - - -	13
From Alicant, St. Croix, and Teneriffe	9
Total -	170

The total value of national merchandize was 28,636,619 reals.

That of foreign merchandize was 46,278,342 reals.

And the amount of the duties paid was above 3,833,424.

The number of ships which returned from Spanish America, in the same year, to the seven ports were 135; the total value of the merchandize amounted to 74,558,292 reals and 19 maravedis, and the duties amounted to 2,927,857 reals and 4 maravedis.

Ten years after this, commerce had a considerable increase.

Twelve Spanish ports instead of seven became engaged in this free trade. The exportation of the na-

tional produce to America was above five-fold, that of foreign merchandize was tripled, and the returns from America increased more than nine-tenths.

From these comparative facts we may best judge of the growing prosperity of a nation. The reader may himself compare the year 1778 with the year 1788.

Account of the commerce to Spanish America, in the year 1788.

Names of the Ports.

From Seville,	From Cadiz,
Malaga,	Barcelona,
Corunna,	St. Sebastian,
Los Alfaques,	De Tortoso,
St. Ander,	Gijon,
Alicant,	Palma,
Canaries,	

Total amount of the value of national exports, 158,223,039 reals.

Amount of the value of foreign merchandize exported 142,494,290 reals.

Value of the returns from America, 804,693,733 reals.

It appears from this statement that in the year 1788, there was sent out to Spanish America, merchandize to the amount of 300,717,229 reals.

And from thence to Europe to the value of 804,693,733 reals.

Thus the returns exceeded the export 503,976,204 reals.

What better proof can be given of the advantage which the Spaniards, and even foreigners might derive from the trade with America? Besides it cannot be denied, from these different accounts, but that the regulation of 1778, imperfect as it was, has contributed much to inspirit the Spanish colonies, while the revenue has been considerably increased.

In 1778, the total of the duties on importation and

exportation produced to the revenue 6,761,291, reals, 12 maravedis.

In 1788, it produced 55,456,949 reals.

Which makes the increased balance 48,695,658 reals, and 22 maravedis.

Notwithstanding those evident salutary effects of the regulation of 1778, it was yet in 1788 the object of severe criticism even on the part of the best informed Spaniards.

It was said, that before the year 1778, smuggling made almost half of the trade of Mexico, and considerably more than half of that of Terra-Firma, and of the province of Buenos Ayres. Thus a great quantity of the piastres coined in Spanish America went immediately into foreign countries.

For example, it is known that from the year 1767, until 1778, there was struck of piastres 187,579,451.

Of these came into Spain only 103,889,652.

The difference between these sums 83,689,799, was therefore drawn from Spanish America, by contraband trade, and that if to this was added other merchandize, the produce of the country, it would be seen that nearly half the trade of Spanish America was in the hands of foreigners.

The censors of the new regulation said also that the contraband trade had seemed to increase from the time that the regulation took place, and used many arguments of apparent weight in proof of their opinion.

Whatever truth might be in some of their representations and assertions, the prosperity of the Spanish Indies, has incontestibly increased ever since the establishment of a free trade. It even appears, that since the year 1788, which was the epoch of these complaints of the increase of the contraband trade, their objections have been considerably removed. The returns of the year 1791 may be mentioned as a proof of this fact, for in that year there arrived in

Spain twenty-two millions of double piastres from Peru and Mexico.

Now it is known that of late years Mexico has furnished annually from 21 to 22 millions of piastres, and Peru from 5 to 6, total from 26 to 28. So that if we deduct from this total some millions for the current coin necessary to the country, we shall find but a small remainder to go out of it by means of the contraband trade.

Besides it cannot be doubted that since the year 1778, the exports from Spain to America, in wines, fruits, and manufactured goods as formerly, have been much increased; and that there has come from the colonies productions till that time unknown: that those articles which come but in small quantities are much more numerous, as tobacco, sugar, coffee, &c. that the cultivation of sugar, particularly at Cuba, is sensibly increased, although it is yet far from the prosperity to which it might attain; and lastly, that the communication between Spain and her colonies have thus become more open. Of which we may judge by this single circumstance. Before the year 1778, the fleet and galleons sailed every three years. A trader was compelled to be at considerable expense, and to encounter many difficulties before he could obtain permission for his vessel to make part of the expedition, which consisted of only from twelve to fifteen ships. In the course of the year 1791, eighty-nine vessels were freighted from Spain for the Indies. Does not this decide the question, in favour of the free trade, without leaving any room for reply?

At first the minister of the Indies thought proper not to extend the new regulation to Mexico, which for eight years remained subject to the periodical supplies; but in the year 1786, that country was allowed to participate in the advantages of the regulation of 1778, restricting the quantity of merchandize to be sent annually to six thousand tons, which unaccount-

able restriction furnishes one of the numerous proofs of the fondness of Galvez for the regulating system.

This ambitious minister was extremely active, well informed, and personally disinterested. He certainly possessed some talents for administration, but he added to these many repugnant forms, assuming the lofty airs of a vizier; he certainly possessed the power, without experiencing any of the dangers attached to that title.

Charles III. placed in him the most unlimited confidence. This truly virtuous monarch was not exempt from some singularities. He fancied himself a great soldier, and consequently valued himself on that distinction, and decided on every subject which had any relation with the army; but in respect to other departments, including matters of conscience, he gave them up entirely to the management of those whom he had appointed, and who would show an appearance of deference for the superior intelligence of the sovereign. The marshal de Duras had known Galvez during his embassy in Spain, and had nominated him advocate for the French nation, which was not, at Madrid, a sinecure, although it has been abolished in latter times. It was restored to gratify the ambassador, and the French: apparently we gain nothing by these intimacies. It is certain at least that these repeated communications with the French nation did not prevent a growing aversion, which Galvez attempted awkwardly enough to disguise under the mask of friendship. M. D'Ossun had introduced him to the marquis de Grimaldi, who in the year 1763 became minister of the foreign department, and to Charles III. himself, whom he had followed from Naples to Madrid. His interest also contributed much to the appointment of Galvez to an important commission to Mexico, where he evinced his lordly and assuming disposition, and where the intoxication of power, as much as the fatigues of a

mission, which required great activity, was the cause of a distemper which was attended, and followed by several acts of folly, or insanity.

At his return Galvez was rewarded for his exertions, and vindicated from those faults he had been charged with on his arrival in Europe, with the rank of minister of the Indies, that is to say by a power the most unlimited that any man, who was not a sovereign, could possess. In this elevated situation Galvez shewed M. D'Ossun every exterior demonstration of gratitude, and used the language of affection when speaking of the French. But hatred and jealousy were at the bottom, of which he gave more than one proof. The slightest opposition irritated the despotic disposition of Galvez: his administration seemed to be the "ark of the covenant," which it was dangerous to touch. Any one who had the temerity to watch or discover the springs of his administration, became odious to him. He could scarcely forgive Robertson for his History of America. He constantly retarded the translation of it, under the pretext that he did not wish it to appear without a supplement, in which he, Galvez, should establish those facts from which the English author, in other respects very estimable, had often deviated. He died however before this supplement was finished, and probably before he had even seriously thought of it. As for the Histoire Philosophique, of Raynall, he was instantly in a rage if it was but mentioned in his presence.

The same violent and imperious character appeared in every branch of his vast administration. It must however be allowed, that he possessed a superior degree of energy, and a firmness of resolution in every work of improvement. But it is still a question among well-informed Spaniards, whether he did more good or harm in the Spanish Indies. It is at least certain, that contrary to his intention, he developed their disposition for independence. Too eager to

prove that an able minister could make them of use to the revenue of Spain, to which for a long time they had only been an expense, by increasing the taxes, and by a bad choice of agents, he provoked an insurrection in the year 1781, in the viceroyalty of Santa-Fé. The same causes afterwards produced a more serious revolt at Peru; and which was suppressed by measures of horrid vengeance and cruelty, and by the punishment of the intrepid chief Tupacamaro.

The time Galvez chose to oppress and exasperate the Spanish colonies, was precisely at the sam[e] period when the English colonies, shook off the [y]oke of Great Britain, for grievances probably no[t] so oppressive.

To establish and gather the new taxes which he h[a]d projected, Galvez employed as many as 16,000 per[-]sons, who by their salaries and misapplication of moneys, swallowed up the whole produce. Nevertheless, he confidently boasted of having raised the revenue of the Spanish Indies from 5,000,000 of piastres to eighteen, though the government was still obliged toward the end of his ministry to send assistance of money (situados) to the Philippines, to Porto-Rico, to St. Domingo, to Louisiana, and even sometimes to the Havannah.

It must be granted that Galvez laboured with success for the benefit of the Spanish Indies, that la Trinité, Louisiana, the Philippines, and particularly Mexico, owed to his exertions their commencement of prosperity.

In the following pages we shall give a hasty sketch of what he has done for these colonies, or at least of the advantageous alterations which took place during the time of his ministry.

From the moment Louisiana was ceded by the French to Spain, the court of Madrid, which to subjugate this colony had employed such vigorous measures as could not fail to render its yoke odious, endeavoured to soften its fate by granting to the inha-

bitants privileges proper to insure their prosperity, and the advantage of the mother country. In 1768, it was enacted, that merchandize going from Spain to Louisiana, and the productions received from that colony, should be exempt from all duties of exportation; and that the produce of the colony should pay a duty of but four per cent. upon entering Spain. But as those in the greatest abundance, such as tobacco, indigo, cotton, and particularly furs, could not find a great sale in Spain, it was agreed that French vessels might load with them at New Orleans, but that they should arrive there in ballast. This restriction was so frequently eluded, that the Spanish government saw the necessity of taking it off; and was moreover convinced, that the furs, skins, &c. of Louisiana could not be exchanged but for goods manufactured in France.

This circumstance did not prevent the French from having until the epoch of the rupture almost the whole of the commerce with Louisiana, they even had there two commissioners employed to watch over the interests of their merchants.

It is asserted, that since the peace there has been some thoughts of ceding back Louisiana, that even Spain, which one would have believed to be most against the measure was very inclined to consent to it, and that the obstacles were on the part of the French government, which consisted, it is said, on the strict performance of the treaty of Basle. Would it be believed that this distant possession in the interior of the gulf of Mexico, was rather an inconvenience than otherwise? That the re-establishing of the commercial connections we had there prior to the rupture was sufficient to make it as valuable to us as if we were actually in possession of the colony. In our hands Louisiana would always be a source of disagreement with our allies, to whom the contraband trade, which it facilitates, is and will be an object of fear and disquiet. Would it be thought that this acquisition had

been incompatible with the good understanding which we ought to maintain with an enterprizing people, with whom it would perhaps be difficult to be at once the neighbour and the ally. In fact the inhabitants of Louisiana, who have long disliked our government, and who for several years have been at peace and happy under that of Spain, who besides are no longer a people of brethren, as in the year 1769, but a nation composed of strangers from every part of Europe, would not willingly have changed their actual situation to make part of the French republic. Devoted entirely to commerce and industry, they have probably more desire for tranquillity than glory.

Louisiana, in other respects, differs not much from what it was at the time it was ceded to Spain. The chief city, New Orleans, had then from 5 to 6,000 inhabitants. In 1793, it did not exceed 8,000, without reckoning the negroes, who in the whole colony were about 25,000, and the number of planters were supposed to be 20,000.

The majority of these planters are French; there are but few Spaniards except those in civil or military capacities. The free Americans have made settlements, where they have successfully introduced the English method of cultivation; and lastly, there are on the banks of the Mississippi some Germans, who next to the Americans are the best cultivators of the colony.

With these exceptions, agriculture in Louisiana is still very confined: and tobacco and indigo are the only articles which have attained any great degree of perfection.

Nevertheless, the exportation is considerable. But it is said, that with the exception of that part which some rapacious governors appropriate to themselves, the whole of the profits belong to some foreign merchants, who only settle at New Orleans to make fortunes, and who then return to their native countries; this circumstance deprives the colony of capital, without

which no enterprize can succeed, or even be undertaken, and prevents it from partaking in those advantages which nature has bestowed.

These advantages are so numerous, and so striking, that when they are known, we are tempted to excuse our forefathers from being led away by the deceptive illusions, with which the name of Mississippi is encircled, as we may judge by the following hasty sketch.

Louisiana is under one of the finest climates in the world; it is watered by a stream, which adds to the fertility of the soil, the mouth of which is a vast channel of every article of commerce.

At the head of these, tobacco may be mentioned, the quality of which is very superior to that of Virginia and Maryland.

The indigo is as good as that of St. Domingo, and consequently very superior to that of Carolina.

The furs have been long a principal article of the commerce of Louisiana.

If Louisiana had more channels for commerce, pitch and tar would make considerable articles.

There are also great quantities of timber, of which they export to the amount of 800,000 livres; besides which, they build vessels as large as of 400 tons burthen.

The cedar is of the finest sort; the green, white, and red oak is abundant, and grows to an amazing height, and is proportionable in thickness; and lastly, the cypress makes excellent masts, and is a considerable article of export.

Innumerable flocks supply meat in abundance, and a considerable branch of commerce in the exportation of leather and tallow; and if there were more channels they might export horses, wax, wool, hemp, and even silk; this colony also produces rice, peas, maize, &c.

The cultivation of cotton has of late been much neglected.

By the treaty of Basle, France was satisfied with the acquisition of the part of St. Domingo, which prior to that time was in the possession of Spain, though it was no great sacrifice, being more chargeable than advantageous; nevertheless, this colony in our hands might be more productive, most of the valuable productions of America are common to the soil, such as tobacco, sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, &c. but all these, although indigenous to the soil, are yet in small quantities; it is well watered, and the four ports, Santo Domingo, Samana, Port de Plata, and Monte Christi, are capable of being made marts for the exportation of the produce of the colony.

The regulation of 1778, added to the privileges of Louisiana, a total exemption of duties for furs, &c during ten years. Afterwards in 1782, Pensacola and West Florida having been added to the Spanish possessions within the gulph of Mexico, it was established, that for ten years, ships should be permitted to sail from French ports to Louisiana and Pensacola, and returns made of all the productions of the two colonies, and that the articles, as well exported as imported, should pay a duty of no more than six per cent. that in case of necessity the inhabitants should be permitted to furnish themselves with necessaries from the French American islands; and that the negroes, which they might procure from friendly colonies should enter their ports duty free. The regulation expressly mentioned, that foreign merchandize received at Louisiana should be there entirely consumed. But this restriction has certainly been eluded; for considering the numerous expeditions made to New Orleans, in consequence of the regulation, many speculators would have ruined themselves, had not their cargoes had other markets than that of Louisiana.

This very regulation of 1782 soon made farther enlargements appear necessary; the people of Louisiana were to form no commercial connexions but with

France. Had this intention been realized, the French would have deprived the contraband traders of the produce of their fradulent commerce by way of Florida, and the north of the Mississippi, and would have had it in their power to procure at an easy rate the furs, beaver-skins, and other productions of Louisiana. Nevertheless, as the inhabitants of this colony also consumed some foreign merchandize, such as Silesia linens, English copper, &c. to leave the French the whole profit of this new arrangement, it would have been necessary to obtain from the French government a free importation for these articles, which might afterwards have been shipped from the ports of that kingdom immediately to Louisiana. The Spanish minister had confided this negotiation to M. Maxent, father-in-law to general Galvez, so advantageously known in the American war, and who previously had prepared the prosperity of Louisiana, by the mildness and wisdom of his administration. M. Maxent was not able to succeed in the negotiation with which he was charged, and in 1785, it was presumed that the Spanish government had determined to extend to other foreign ports, such as Ostend, Amsterdam, Genoa, &c. a privilege which at first had been reserved for those of France.

Trinidad had for a long time been one of the most unprofitable of the Spanish colonies. Its situation at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, near the coast of Terra Firma, the salubrity of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the excellence of some of its harbours, ought, on the contrary, to make it a valuable possession. This had not escaped Galvez, the minister of the Indies, who, that he might restore to this dead member of the Spanish monarchy, added in 1776 the island of Trinidad to the department of the company of Caracas, a trifle compared to what M. Galvez still intended to do for the island. In 1778 it was included in the new regulation. M. d'Avalos, intendant of the province of Caracas, a citizen full of

zeal and information, of a firm and vigorous character, who has been harshly censured by the colonists confided to his care, but properly appreciated by the Spaish ministry, who lately appointed him to the government of Andalusia, was consulted in 1779, upon the proper means of restoring it to new life. M. de Avalos from that moment took upon himself to people and fertilize Trinidad. A Frenchman, not less active than himself, came very àpropos to second his intentions: this was M. de Saint Laurent, who, fixed by his possessions in the island of Granada, had passed under the dominion of England by the peace of 1763, and who, after the taking of the island, which he foresaw would not be restored to France, went to settle at Trinidad. He was perfectly acquainted with all the resources of the island, had connections with all the Caribbee islands, and possessed, in a superior degree, the talent of inspiring confidence and benevolence by his sincerity and easy manners.

M. de Avalos charged him to procure settlers for the island of Trinidad. M. de Saint Laurent, who knew that several persons in France and Ireland had already turned their views to that island, proposed to engage them to determine upon it, a regulation which insured to them lands in proportion to their capital, and the number of blacks and whites that each colonist should take to the colony; which exempted for ten years the exportation of their productions, and entry of negroes, from all duties; and granted them other privileges less considerable, the enumeration of which would carry me too far beyond the bounds of my plan.

The regulation, approved of by M. de Avalos, was published, by his order, at the beginning of 1780, without waiting for the consent of the court, and it produced a speedy effect. In the month of June, 1782, there were a hundred and seventy families of new colonists, who had brought with them a thousand

and eighty-five slaves, and had nearly two hundred plantations for sugar, coffee, and cocoa.

This beginning was not, however, properly supported; the greatest part of the emigrants, upon whom M. de Avalos reckoned, waited until the court of Spain should make a formal avowal of the promised privileges; and M. de St. Laurent came in 1783 to Europe to solicit it. He had several conferences with the Spanish ministers, and presented to them memorials, which had not the success he expected. To justify the promises he had made to the emigrants, he demanded privileges which we found incompatible with the laws of the Indies; and the council, the depositary of these laws, opposed to him the ancient inflexibility of its principles. He believed he had a personal right to the acknowledgments of Spain, and demanded them, perhaps with that austere frankness which knows not how to ask for justice in the accents commonly employed in the solicitations of favour. In short, the fate of Trinidad, respecting which he possessed so much information, and to the prosperity of which he had in so many respects contributed, was decided without his concurrence.*

In the month of November 1783, a royal mandate granted to the new colonists of Trinidad, a part only of the privileges he had judged necessary; it permitted them a free trade with the French in Europe and the Caribbees, but stipulated that the commerce should be carried on in Spanish vessels.

With respect to the importation of negroes, which the colony wanted, it was permitted with restrictions.

* This estimable man found himself, as the reward of his talents and labours, abandoned to all the anxieties caused by a derangement of property, when marshal de Castries, who had found an opportunity of becoming acquainted with his merit, recompensed him for the injustice and caprice of fortune, by nominating him commissary at Tobago.

Instead of requiring that all the colonists who wished to settle at Trinidad should take negroes with them, it stipulated that this island should serve as a depository for all those which foreign nations should bring thither. Spain could not do without these to furnish her colonies. At the expiration of the famous assiento, which the English had obtained at the peace of Utrecht, this charge was transferred to a company which had made Porto Rico, the depository of all the negroes it bought at second-hand, whether from the Dutch at the Cape, or the English at Jamaica. The contract of the company expiring in 1780, Spain determined to make her own purchases of slaves. With this view government had acquired from Portugal, by the treaty of peace in 1778, two small islands near the coast of Africa. But, besides their being insufficient for the purpose intended, Spain still wants what is especially necessary for the negro trade; she has neither vessels properly built for the purpose, nor the merchandize most suitable to purchase negroes; she moreover wants surgeons acquainted with the particular disorders to which these wretched slaves are subject; and who understand how they should be treated; and until she thus becomes upon an equality with the nations used to this commerce, she will be obliged to have recourse to their assistance. Thus, during the late war, at the moment when the privilege of the company, to which the furnishing of negroes was confided, was about to expire, Spain permitted all her colonists to procure them from the Caribbee islands belonging to foreign powers. But this means proved insufficient. Contraband commerce, with which the Spanish colonies are beset on all sides, to the detriment of the revenue, but to the advantage of the colonists, supplied the greatest part. The Spanish minister, until he should be able to take permanent measures to procure negroes, had given to foreign merchants some particular permissions to land them in the Spanish American ports.

These partial measures being found insufficient, foreigners, as well as Spaniards, were permitted in the year 1789 to bring negroes to the Spanish colonies of St. Domingo, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Caracas. In the month of February, 1791, this permission was extended to the viceroyalty of Santa-Fé. Towards the end of the same year, there appeared a royal schedule, which permitted both natives and foreigners to trade with their colonies, and bring negroes into their ports, including those of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres: with the restriction for the foreign merchants, that they should not load their ships bound to the shores of America, with any article of commerce, exclusively reserved to the Spanish merchants. These permissions, which the Spanish government always granted with such numerous restrictions and exceptions, were in the present instance denied entirely to the French, who were displeased at the exclusion. The French merchants petitioned for a revocation of the order of government, and in the month of May, 1792, it was obtained. The French minister, however, was not of opinion that the permission was of any real value; he thought that it deprived our own colonies of negroes, as our ship owners found their advantage in carrying them to the Spanish colonies: but this judgment was erroneous, as negroes fetched a better price in our colonies than in those of Spain.

The war which happened soon after, rendered void the permission to which Spain had acceded; and besides our legislators did not hesitate in their consent to the entire proscription of the slave trade. The Spaniards have not been induced to follow this example. It must be admitted, that if this trade was to be tolerated in any part of the globe, it should be allowed to Spain.

But to return to the subject of Trinidad. The court of Madrid has granted to this colony a liberty, of which, perhaps, there is not another example on the face of the globe. Before the war with America,

this island was almost uninhabited, and consequently uncultivated. The Spanish government opened the ports to all foreigners, without exception, and invited them to settle there. It exempted from duties every article that the Spaniards exported, and only subjected foreigners to the payment of very small duties on those articles which they freighted to ports which did not belong to Spain; and confided the government of Trinidad to Don Joachim Chacon.

From the above period the colony has amazingly prospered. The soil of Trinidad is proper for the cultivation of most of the articles produced in the other colonies. They have tried to raise cocoa, indigo, cotton, coffee, &c. but they could not preserve them from the ravages of the insects, which are there very numerous; and therefore these kinds of produce were almost entirely neglected, but the cultivation of sugar was very soon in the most flourishing state.

About seventeen or eighteen years ago, there were scarcely twenty sugar plantations; in 1796, there were above three hundred and sixty. From several islands of the Antilles, particularly from those belonging to the French, many discontented people took refuge in Trinidad, and brought with them all the negroes who were willing to follow them, and the number of planters soon amounted to sixty thousand; a few of them were Spaniards, and the rest Americans and Frenchmen. There under one of the finest climates of the globe, on a virgin soil which repays the industry of the settlers with abundant interest, they forget their differences and live in peace, protected by a government which dispenses her favours impartially, and with an equal hand. There the new settler receives from the government the necessary instruments of agriculture, tools, and even capital; but these he is obliged to pay for at the end of three years. If the settler brings with him any capital, he purchases for himself new plantations, or has granted

to him some of the lands which are unsold, for which he pays the price of their valuation.

Such was the state of Trinidad, when taken by the English. Now that by the peace of Amiens it has become their possession, they do not neglect to profit by the advantages it presents, the chief of which for them, will be its situation near the Spanish coast of Terra Firma, and the power of supplying the produce of their industry. Trinidad, to whom nature has been prodigal of her stores of riches, contains many treasures worthy the attention of naturalists. In 1796, the Belle Angelique, under the command of captain Baudin, sailed from France, protected by the English and Spanish governments, for the purpose of conducting some natural philosophers, of high reputation, to examine the botanical curiosities of that island. This work will doubtless be completed by the Britannic government, and the sciences at least will have no reason to lament the change of masters the colony has experienced.

The Philippine islands, placed at the extremity of Asia, relative to the mother country, and which, including the Ladrone islands, dependant upon them, form a more extensive possession than France, Spain, and Italy. Not only all the necessaries of life are there found in abundance, but great quantities of ship timber, woods proper for dyeing, several iron mines, and rivers navigable a long way up the country. Cotton, tobacco, indigo, and sugar thrive in that soil; some gold is also found among the sand of certain rivers.* The number of subjects who acknowledge the Spanish dominions is upwards of a million, without including the wild natives who live in the woods, and of which the enumeration would be almost impossible.

* The vegetable kingdom is richly stored. M. Sonnerat brought from thence, in the year 1781, six thousand plants, till that time unknown in Europe.

Convinced of the impossibility of establishing a regular and immediate commerce between them and the mother country, the kings who conquered them confined their efforts to bestowing on them a communication, by the port of Acapulco, with the western coast of Mexico. The famous Nao (galleon) which every year makes the voyage from Manilla to Acapulco, across the South-sea, is generally known. It was, for the most part, by this route that Spain communicated with the Philippines; a communication without profit for her European subjects, and of which the principal advantage was reaped by the Chinese, the Armenians, and other nations who frequent the eastern ocean. Even the revenue derived no advantage from it; and the moderate produce of the duties was not sufficient to defray the expenses incurred in their administration. The inhabitants of the Philippines, without cultivation or industry, had no other resource than the commissions to which their situation was favourable. Like Spain in Europe, the island of Luconia or Manilla, which is the principal of the Philippines, was only a channel through which the piastres of Mexico passed the Indian nations; so that, notwithstanding the enormous sums of money which commerce has carried to these islands, since the time of their conquest, there remains in them but a very moderate quantity.

Their defence was as much neglected as their interior prosperity. It may be recollected with what ease they were taken in the war, in 1756, by the same general Draper, who commanded at Minorca, under general Murray, when that island was surrendered to the duke de Crillon. Spain has profited by the lesson. Charles III. had ordered the port of Cavite, at the bottom of which is situated Manilla, the capital of the island of Luconia, and the residence of the governor, to be fortified; and when the American war broke out, this important place was in a situation to

brave the attacks of the very enemies to whom sixteen years before it had been so easy a prey.

The minister of the Indies endeavoured to excite the industry of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding their supineness, from which the appearance of gain only can awaken them, have the greatest aptitude to manufactures, agriculture, navigation, and the building of ships. Cotton manufactures were established at Manilla, and their productions have already proved, that if the inhabitants had until then been useless colonists, it was not from ignorance. At length, the minister of the Indies, seconded by M. Cabarrus, whose repeated successes has gained him universal approbation, took advantage of the general fermentation which inclined the nation to useful objects, to adopt a direct commerce from Spain to the Philippines.

Circumstances were propitious. After various fluctuations, credit and confidence seemed to be established; the Spaniards began to familiarize themselves to hazardous speculations; persons of property, become less timid, at length gave an employment to their capitals, which mistrust and an attachment to ancient forms had before prevented. The company of Caracas was dissolved, and the proprietors, about to receive their capitals, naturally wished for a speedy opportunity of placing them out again.

The time was favourable to the establishment of a new company, which, undertaken under the most happy auspices, might inspire confidence and a desire of gain. The plan was discussed and approved of, in July, 1784, a junto composed of different members of administration, and at which the minister of the Indies presided. It was proposed to form a capital of eight millions of great piastres, divided into thirty-two thousand shares, each of two hundred and fifty piastres, and to employ this capital in trading from Spain to the Philippines. The advantages which Spain would have over the other European states, in carrying immediately from

Mexico to these islands the piastres which other nations could not convey thither but by a prodigious circuit, were enumerated. It was asserted that Spain, thus receiving from their source the merchandizes of India so much desired in Europe, would receive them upon better terms, might furnish them to her colonies and European subjects, and open to them a market with other nations.

The plan approved of by the junto received the sanction of the king, and means were immediately sought to carry it into execution. The monarch and royal family gave the same example as they had done when the bank was established, and subscribed to the capital of the new company. To this were added, as we have formerly observed, twenty-one millions of reals, arising from exceedings of the value of the shares of the bank; and that the ardour which seemed to be awakened might not be abated by delay, directors and other persons were immediately named for the new establishment, and the patent of its institution was prepared and published.

It stated, that the vessels destined to this commerce should sail from Cadiz, double Cape Horn, put into the ports upon the coast of Peru, and thence take piastres sufficient to make their purchases, cross the South-sea to the Philippines, and bring their returns immediately to Cadiz, taking their course by the Cape of Good Hope.

This precipitate zeal, which seemed to be a contrast to the supposed slowness of the Spaniards, was seconded by a circumstance which happened very opportunely. The company of Gremios, of which we have several times spoken, had already attempted to send some ships to the Philippines; and, notwithstanding they had not succeeded, were preparing to make another experiment, when the plan of the new company was under consideration.

The Gremios were offered a part in the project, and had declined accepting the offer. They hastened

the departure of the vessel which was preparing for Manilla: but the elements, more favourable than their intentions to the minister, soon obliged it to return to Cadiz, after having received considerable damage. To have repaired and refitted it would have been expensive, and must have required time. Government offered to purchase the vessel and cargo, and the proposal was accepted. Thus was the first expedition undertaken by the Philippine company, in the moment even of its establishment, which may serve to give proper ideas upon the subject.

It may easily be imagined that opinions must be different according to the various points of view under which the company has been considered. I have heard the subject discussed by persons of the best information, on both sides of the question, and cannot but acknowledge that, as a stranger, wholly uninterested, I thought I discovered prejudice and exaggeration as well in the company's partisans as in its detractors; on one side enthusiasm, which is always to be suspected; on the other the language of defamation, against which it is equally necessary to be guarded.

Such censors as these could not imagine how Spain, who had nearer home colonies destitute of population and industry could think of making her most distant possessions flourish; they were astonished how a commerce which must reach to the most distant parts of Asia, should have three directors who had never passed the cape of Good Hope, and who only knew the East Indies by imperfect accounts. They thought that the Spaniards would not be able to contend with more experienced nations. And they could only discover in this undertaking the means of getting rid of those metals, of which they were only the temporary depositaries. Every place was occupied in the ports, in the factories, and in the markets of India. Would the Philippine company then, carry their speculations to China? They would at first have to contend with

very dangerous rivals. And what would they bring from thence, tea, the Spaniards scarcely know the use of it. China, it is an inconvenient species of merchandize which cannot have many markets. Silks, do they wish to injure the manufactures of Spain. Of these arguments the last appears to be the most plausible. Thus the schedule for the formation of the new company was no sooner made public than the manufacturers of Catalonia petitioned against it.

No conclusion could be drawn from the vexatious result of the first expedition of the company, which was the consequence of a circumstance that would never happen again. Before the commissioners of the company had arrived at the Philippines to make their purchases, Galvez, as usual, fond of shewing his greatness, and authority, in every thing which belonged to his ministry, gave the direction of the business to the governor of those islands, who being unacquainted with commercial affairs, had nothing to furnish them with but tea, muslins, and merchandize, the refuse of other nations; so that the first cargo was in the year 1792 still unsold at Cadiz.

The following expeditions succeeded better. Of three vessels sent by the company at the same time, one suffered great damage and was repaired at the isle of France, the other two happily returned towards the end of the year 1787 to Cadiz, where the cargoes were sold at the increase of fifty per cent. above the value at which they were estimated on their first arrival. The prophetic opinions against the success of this trade was still repeated by some who attributed its present success to the attraction of novelty, and to the scarcity of those merchandizes brought by the ships of the company; they also pretended, not without probability, that if the taste for these goods continued, the contraband trade would soon supply them at a much cheaper rate.

It is singular enough that this trade might be said to find help even from the Spanish minister. Lerena

had for the Philippine company the same aversion which he had for its projector; and it is not to be doubted, that hatred dictated measures, which he disguised under ill contrived pretences: he had granted permission to all merchants to import muslins, in concurrence with those of the company; he laid a duty of twenty-three per cent. on all chintz and coloured goods from Canton. This was giving to these cloths which are of a very inferior quality, very formidable rivals in those of other nations who traded with India. These were indeed prohibited in Spain, but we know that with a premium of twelve per cent. there are not any sort of merchandize but what may be introduced. The amateurs of foreign muslins have thus an advantage of eleven per cent. at least in preferring them to those of the Philippine company.

With such measures, it was not likely that this establishment should prosper. It nevertheless succeeded in spite of all these contrarieties. In 1792, the capital was yet untouched; and the shares after having lost as much as fifty per cent. were then at par. The directors had made their balance account, and were convinced, that after the loss, on the sale of the first returns, and several other mistakes, that the company had still a considerable profit.

Since this epoch it has been the subject of several measures, of which the results have been advantageous.

The extent given by the king to the commerce of Spain, placed it at first in immediate connection with the ports of the Caracas, Maracaïbo, and Buenos Ayres, with Mexico, with Peru, and with India, which opened a large field to the navigation from the end of the year 1793 until the end of 1795.

The commerce, exportation, and importation with the Caracas and Maracaïbo, including the cocoa carried to Vera-Cruz, that of Peru, India, and of Buenos Ayres, produced profits in the course of two years to the amount of 15,082,408 reals, 23 maravedis.

Which sum, lessened in one case by the losses in the commerce with Mexico, by the expenses of administration, by the calamities of war which had injured the possessions of Guipuscoa, by the capitals and interests on the numerous debts, and increased on the other by the balance in its favour on the last account, reduces it to the sum of 10,516,576 reals.

Notwithstanding the disasters of the war and several other losses, the company possessed at the end of the year 1795 to the amount in goods of different kinds, in divers places of the kingdom and out of Spain, a capital to the value of 77,517,005 reals, 25 maravedis.

Until this present time (the end of the year 1805) they have paid but three dividends of five per cent. to the shares (in 1793, in 1795, and 1796).

The interruptions of the war, and the difficulties which commerce has experienced for the last seven years, has obliged the company to suspend the dividends.

Nevertheless, on the other side of the question, it has experienced many favourable circumstances. The purchases in India, which increased, to the sum of 43,588,714 reals, notwithstanding a delay of three or four years in the return, produced a nett profit of 9,816,575 reals, 13 maravedis. These consisted chiefly of muslins of different sorts, white calicoes, silks, pepper, sugar, indigo, tea, saltpetre, &c. &c.

From the coast of Caracas they only imported cocoa, but with considerable profit.

Since the first expedition in the year 1785, to 1796, the company employed sixteen ships, of which the largest were of 879 tons burthen, and the smallest of 450, except one of only 280, which was sent from Cadiz to the Isle of France.

Besides the above, from 1789, to 1796, seventeen vessels belonging to individuals had been sent to the Caracas, to Maracaïbo, and Lima, and returned with very valuable cargoes.

At the end of 1796, the company had attained a degree of prosperity which could not even have been hoped for at its commencement, that year in particular, returned very considerable profits.

Some years afterwards the Spanish government, doubtless encouraged by success, gave the company a new form, increasing the funds and adding to its privileges. This was the subject of a royal charter, which was published on the twelfth of July 1803, and which is divided under four heads and seventy-four articles.

The first head extends the duration of the Philippine company to the first of July 1825. It increased the funds from eight millions double piastres to twelve millions five hundred thousand, and the shares from thirty-two thousand to fifty thousand.

Under the same head the king became a proprietor of 9886 shares above the 5935 which he had taken at the time of the company's establishment, which made his share in the funds of the company amount to three millions nine hundred and forty-three thousand two hundred and fifty piastres.

The company obtained the privilege of selling as many shares more as would make the whole of the capital amount to twelve millions five hundred thousand piastres; these shares were allowed to be purchased by foreigners, and might be transferred by a simple indorsement. The proprietors could make them unalienable property in favour of their heirs.

Under the second head it was specified, that the general assembly of the company, which was held every year in the month of December, should consist of all those sharers who had at least twenty shares. That each should have but one vote, whatever might be the number of their shares, with the following exceptions. That the province of Guipuscoa, the bank of St. Charles, and the corporation of Gremios should have each five votes.

The direction of the company is confided to a junto, who assemble once every week.

The third head of the schedule treats of the privileges granted to the company, and the duties which they have to pay.

The subjects of the king in the Philippines have a privilege of sending every year a vessel (Nao) to Acapulco, in which the company can have no interest.

The Asiatic nations continue as usual to trade with the port of Manilla, and can only bring thither the produce of Asia, and export from thence the productions of the Philippines, raw cotton excepted, of which the purchase and exportation to China, and other parts of India, belong exclusively to the company and the inhabitants of the Philippines.

In consideration of these advantages, the islanders deduct from their profits four per cent. which is applied to the purposes of encouraging agriculture and industry in the island, and in Spain.

The fourth head of the schedule of the 12th of July 1803, settles the commerce and the navigation which may be used by the company.

It grants the privilege of making expeditions to Asia, either directly by the Cape of Good Hope, or to go to Buenos-Ayres, or by Cape-Horn, ranging the ports of the South Sea, wherever they could vend their cargo.

The returns of the company, from China and other parts of Asia, paid no duties.

The company also were allowed to establish factories on the continent of Asia, and to export, duty free, silver, fruits, and other goods of Spain, and even those of other countries.

As the commerce with Asia cannot be carried on entirely with Spanish and Indian merchandize, they have the privilege of sending out 500,000 double piastres each voyage, free from all the duties of exportation.

In time of war the company were permitted to

convey every year from Manilla to Lima, and other ports of South America, to the amount of 500,000 double piastres in fruits and merchandizes of Asia, duty free, from the port of Manilla, but subject on their arrival at Lima and other ports to the payment of fourteen per cent. on the price of the original manufacture increased to twenty per cent. and the company on paying nine and a half per cent. might send to Manilla from the ports of America, piastres to carry on their trade, and a term of six months was granted after the peace to complete such expeditions as it might have undertaken, before they could have the knowledge of such an event.

Several other privileges were granted in this schedule, of which we have only given a short abridgment; but it proves throughout the decided intention of the Spanish government in favour of the Philippine company since its establishment. Certainly at first there was no thought of increasing the original funds by more than a third, or to extend the trade to so many distant countries, and grant such numerous privileges, some of which are dangerous to the revenue, if experience had not proved its prosperity, and given the lie to the prognostics of those who opposed it.

In effect, since the year 1796, every year has increased the importance of the speculations of the Philippine company, particularly in respect to the merchandize of India, and the productions of Peru; and at the time when, towards the end of the year 1804, England declared suddenly against Spain, the company expected five frigates richly laden. Four from Manilla and Calcutta with goods to the value of 12,000,000 of double piastres. And the fifth from Lima, with a lading of 9,000 fanéques of cocoa from Guyaquil, in value at least two millions and a half livres. But it is to be feared that the calamities of war, for which the Spanish government was not prepared, will

greatly injure the prosperity of the country, or at least put a stop for a limited time to its success.

What the government has done for Mexico seems to be on a better plan, and real advantage has attended their endeavours. Galvez had a particular affection for this large and rich colony, the theatre of his activity, of his talents, and of some of his extravagances; to him it owed in a great measure its flourishing state. Galvez encouraged the Mexicans in the cultivation of corn; for at least twenty-five years, the produce has been sufficient for their own consumption, and very soon they will be able to supply all Spanish America.

Galvez introduced the cultivation of tobacco in two cantons, and it became in a few years the principal source of the Spanish revenue from the colonies.

The miners of Mexico have real cause to praise the ministry of Galvez, and granted him as a perpetual acknowledgment of their gratitude, a considerable pension, with reversion to his heirs.

For a long time the quicksilver mines of Guancavelica, which were at first so abundant, had produced but little. That of Almaden, on the confines of the kingdoms of Cordoue was the only exception. Galvez, in bringing to perfection the works of this last, procured a much greater quantity of mercury. Before this it gave but from seven to eight thousand quintals per year. Galvez almost doubled the produce, and made with the miners of Mexico an arrangement, by which the quintal of mercury, for which they had before paid eighty piastres, was supplied to them for the sum of forty-one. The result was a great increase in the product of their mines.

Since the year 1782, the produce of the mines has been 27,000,000 of piastres. They would even have produced nearly thirty, if the mercury might in any degree be equal in quantity to the work of the mines; but in these undertakings, a fault in the construction

of the galleries of the mines of Almaden, having produced an almost total inundation, and having suspended the works, the Spanish government concluded in 1784, for six years with the emperor of Germany, a contract which has been since renewed, and by virtue of which it ought to be supplied, from the mines of Idria in Austrian Istria, 6,000 quintals of mercury per year, at the price of fifty-two piastres.

The miners have thus had the power of continuing their works, which in the last few years have been more productive than ever; which has happened very apropos for assisting Spain to sustain the war with France, and might also furnish the resources in that in which they are engaged with the English, if they the English had not taken a considerable portion of the treasures beyond sea, even before the war was declared.

In general, however, the produce of the mines of America are not all for the profit of those who work them, a part comes into the revenue. The duties laid on this produce have much varied since the conquest, and are no longer the same in any of the Spanish colonies.

At first the fifth of the whole produce of all the mines was exacted, with the exception of some few, where the duties were reduced to a tenth and even to a twentieth part.

In 1552 Charles V. increased the duty one and a half per cent. on account of the melting, trying, and marking; this fee was known in Peru by the name of cobos.

This duty of a fifth was afterwards reduced in Peru and Mexico at a tenth, and at Santa-Fé to the twentieth in gold, which was the only metal produced there for a long space of time.

In 1777 there was a change in the duties, but only with respect to the gold, which paid but three per cent. in all the American colonies.

At length in 1790, some silver mines having been discovered in the vice-royalty of Santa-Fé, these were put on the same footing as those of Peru and Mexico.

Thus the silver from the mines of America pays eleven and a half per cent. and the gold but three per cent. It seems then that to know precisely the produce of these mines, it is only necessary to be informed of the amount of the duties. However, this evidence is not much to be depended on, because a portion of the products of the mines is fraudulently smuggled out of America, without having been converted into coin, and then that in the returns which come to Europe of the king's duties, those which are received in America, are confounded with those of other denominations. Such is the produce of the customs, and that of the sale of certain articles, which like mercury, paper, &c. are shipped on the king's account, and sold again for him. We must have recourse therefore to other circumstances to be able to affirm, as we have done in the preceding pages, that the total of the produce of the mines of Spanish America, has been raised for these last years to thirty-nine millions of piastres.

To delineate the characters of nations is by no means an easy undertaking; in general they are portraits, which, under a brilliant and ingenious pencil, have every merit except that of resemblance. It is not according to such descriptions that an idea can be formed of any modern people. For individuals to resemble each other, they must be under the influence of the same climate, have the same occupations, and profess the same religion. They must also live under a well established form of government, and most of them give to their ideas, sentiments, and exterior habitude of body, a constant and uniform turn. It is the concurrence only of all these particulars, which can authorize us to apply to all the portrait of an individual. A difference among them, in any one

of these respects, is sufficient to give infinite variety to their moral and physical features. For this reason it would be easy to describe the ancient Scythians, or other pastoral nations, the savages of Canada, and barbarians in general, who have but one simple and uniform mode of worship, few laws, and little communication with other nations. The Greeks and Romans also, in the happiest times of their republics, almost entirely devoted to the love of their country, liberty, and fame, inhabiting a confined space, where the influence of climate was in every place nearly similar, and all taking a part more or less active in government, might be generally described by the same lineaments. For which reason, among modern nations, the English and Dutch would be found nearer this uniformity, the first from that universal inquietude which fixes their attention upon government, whose operations are submitted to their inspection, and from that national pride which keeps their minds in continual activity, and which is not, as in other countries, confined to certain classes of society; and the latter because, notwithstanding the various constitutions of their seven provinces, they have all a point of union which attaches them to their country and liberty, by a portion of an authority infinitely subdivided; and because the nature of their soil, and their situation with respect to other countries, prescribes them all nearly the same taste and employments. But who can flatter himself with the idea of giving a good portrait of the German, Italian, and French nations? What a difference between the climates, productions, employments, laws, and language of one province and those of another! Who would apply to an inhabitant of Westphalia the description of a Saxon or an Austrian; that of a Neapolitan to a Venetian; or that of a Fleming to an inhabitant of Languedoc?

The Spaniards are in the same situation as these

three nations. There are in the inhabitants of their chief provinces such striking differences of climate, manners, language, habits, character, and even exterior form, that the portrait of a Gallician, would more resemble a native of Auvergne than a Catalonian, and that of an Andalusian a Gascon more than a Castilian. If the Spaniards have ever had characteristic marks, applicable to all the inhabitants of their peninsula, it was when the Arabians, by establishing themselves in the nation, had stamped it with a particular impression, and notwithstanding the different causes which separated them from it, had communicated to it a part of their manners, ideas, taste for the arts and sciences, and of every thing of which the traces are still found in the provinces where they mostly resided; it was when the high idea they had of their nation, and which was justified by circumstances, appeared in their persons, and gave them all a resemblance to the description ill given of them; by representing them all grave, austere, generous, and breathing nothing but war and adventures. It was, in fine, when in their general assemblies, which they called Cortes, all took a part, more or less active, in government, directing or watching its operations, and when they felt more strongly than at present, that patriotism which acts so powerfully upon the opinions, affections, and manners of those whom it animates. But these three causes of uniformity in national character have almost entirely disappeared, and left the Spaniards more immediately to the influence of the climate, and the laws and productions of their different provinces; so that to describe them in their present state, they must be divided into Castilians, Catalonians, Arragonians, Navarrians, Andalusians, and Asturians, and to each of these people must be assigned a particular portrait; a difficult and disagreeable task, which could never be completed without almost continually placing the exception by

the side of the rule; in which it would be scarcely possible to be exact without descending to minuteness, to be just without being severe, or a eulogist, without appearing to flatter.

However, this revolution has not been so complete as not to leave many features, by which the whole Spanish nation may still be known. A part of its manners have survived the event by which they were changed. The influence of the climate has been modified, but not destroyed: in many respects the provinces have the same form of government. The court of a monarch almost absolute, is still the centre of all views and affections. All the modern Spaniards profess the same religion. In literature they have still the same taste, and copy the same models. In many respects they have preserved some resemblance to their ancestors, and this is what I shall endeavour to point out.

When Spain discovered and conquered the new world, not contented to reign over a great part of Europe, she agitated and convulsed the other, either by intrigue or military enterprizes. At this period the Spaniards were intoxicated with that national pride which appeared in the exterior of their persons, in their gestures, language, and writings. As there was then some reason for this, it gave them an air of grandeur which was at least pardoned by those whom it inspired not with respect. But by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances this splendour has been eclipsed, and the assuming manners it excused have survived it.

The Spaniard of the sixteenth century has disappeared, but his mask remains. Hence that exterior fierceness and gravity by which he is at present distinguished, and which have frequently recalled two lines of one of our poets on the subject of original sin, notwithstanding the consequences of which the sublime station man was intended to fill is still easy to be known.

C'est du haut de son trône un roi précipité,
Qui garde sur son front un trait de majesté.*

The modern Spaniard still preserves in his air and gesture the marks of his ancient goodness. Whether he speaks or writes, his expressions have an exaggerated turn which approaches bombast.

The Spaniard has an exalted idea of his nation and of himself, and expresses it without the least disguise of art. His vanity is not nourished by those pleasant exaggerations which provoke laughter rather than anger, and which characterize the inhabitants of one of the provinces of France. When he boasts, it is gravely, with all the pomp of his language.

I am nevertheless much disposed to believe that the genius of the language may also be one reason for this pompous style. The Spaniards have not only adopted many words and expressions from the Arabic, but their language is impregnated, as it were, with the oriental spirit which the Arabians naturalized in Spain. This is found in all the productions of Spanish imagination, in works of piety, in comedies and novels. It is, perhaps, one of the causes of the slow progress of sound philosophy, because carrying every thing beyond the truth, accumulating images round the most simple ideas, and favouring whatever borders upon the wonderful, the sanctuary of truth is surrounded with allusion and rendered inaccessible.

But the haughtiness of the Spaniard, which would be noble were it more moderated, and his gravity which always awes, and sometimes repels, are compensated by very estimable qualities, or are rather the source of those qualities. Individual pride, like that of a nation, elevates the mind and guards it against meanness; and such is the effect of Spanish haughtiness. In Spain there are vices and crimes as in other countries, but in general they bear this national charac-

* He is a king precipitated from his throne, who still preserves in his air some traces of majesty.

teristic. It is observable in the most obscure classes, in dungeons, and even under rags and misery. It compensates, to a certain degree, the genius of a language naturally diffuse, in which the ear seems to be gratified by an accumulation of sonorous words, and wherein multiplied expressions are frequently mistaken for an abundance of ideas. Haughtiness is commonly precise; it disdains detail and loves enigmatical expressions because they are concise, and leave room to think, and sometimes to conjecture. Hence is it that the same Spaniards who, when their imagination is in the least warmed, display all the luxury of their language, are laconic when their mind is calm. Of this I might give a hundred examples, but I shall mention only two. I had occasion to speak to a Spaniard of the lowest class, and found him gravely caressing a little child. I asked him if he were the father? A Frenchman of the same rank would have modestly answered, Yes, sir; or, at least, I believe so; and would have said much more on the subject than I should have wished to hear. The Castilian, without disturbing himself, or even receiving my question with a smile, answered me coldly: "he was born in my house," after which he immediately turned the discourse to some other subject.

The following anecdote is another example of the laconic. A French traveller as he entered Castile, met a shepherd guiding his flock. Curious to be informed of all the circumstances which give to the Spanish wool, its estimable qualities, he asked the shepherd a hundred questions. If his flock belonged to the canton? What sort of food was given it? Whether he was on a journey? From whence he came? Where was he going? When he began his journey? When would he return? &c. &c. The shepherd listened coldly to his questions, and replied, aqui nacen, aqui pacen, aqui mucren, "here they breed, here they feed, and here they die," and pursued his journey.

This gravity, almost become proverbial, is however

far from what it is generally supposed to be; in fact it includes in the Spaniards what we call affability. They do not anticipate, but wait for you. But this austere covering frequently conceals a good and benevolent mind, which will become manifest on the least examination. Strangers to the vain hypocrisy of French politeness, the Spaniards are sparing in professions. Their smile of benevolence is not the mark of duplicity, and their heart commonly opens with their features. How often have I been repulsed by the exterior of a Spaniard, and remained a long time without being able to approach him, or to conquer my repugnance, which was all that was necessary, to find in him a complaisance not affected but real; an obliging manner, not that which promises but that which grants! The Spaniards are, perhaps, in want of that urbanity which is bestowed by what we call a refined education, but which too frequently serves as a covering to falsehood and contempt. They supply this by that unaffected frankness and good nature, which announces and inspires confidence.

The great among them have no dignity, if we mean that which is circumspect in its affability, for fear of provoking familiarity, and which cares but little whether or not it be loved, provided it be but respected. Without forgetting who they are, they mark not in a mortifying manner the distinction of classes, and do not disdain to form connexions among those beneath thir own. They have no longer among them a duke of Alba, a don Louis de Haro, and a Penaranda, whose characters, displayed in the face of Europe, have undoubtedly contributed to propagate the idea still entertained of the imperious haughtiness of the Spanish nobility of the first rank. If some have still preserved the traces of it, in them it is coolness, timidity, and embarrassment.

Nevertheless, the great and those who fancy themselves descendants of illustrious families, have a high idea of their birth, and shew it, on occasions, to those

particularly who aspire to be thought their equals. Near the throne this pride is sometimes a little eclipsed. Despotism, even in the form of kindness and indulgence, under which it has appeared so constant in the present age, seems to depress and even humble this hauteur. But this characteristic pride will nevertheless sometimes appear. I have known some grandees exile themselves from the court for a time, and prefer the appearance of disgrace, to the shame of a mean condescension, and others who would reply with haughtiness if provoked. One of these, who was much in the presence of the present sovereign, when he was prince of Asturias, was remarkably short of stature, was often joked on the subject by the prince. One day wearied with the constant appellation of little, he coolly but loftily replied, "Senor en mi casa me llaman grande." "My lord, in my own house I am called great." The reply was received without anger.

The ladies of these nobles seem to have preserved more of the haughty look which is said to belong to the nobility of Spain. It is impossible to be more reserved, more grave, or to seem more vapourish than most of these noble ladies.

We must not forget, likewise, that this exterior gravity conceals in persons of every class cheerfulness, which to discover itself only needs to be excited. To prove this, I shall not have recourse to the Spanish theatres, where buffooneries are so well received; this would rather be an argument against my assertion, because it has been remarked, that the theatres of gay nations are more serious than those of grave ones, as if the mind were principally delighted with those emotions which are most opposite to its habitual state.

But to enable the reader to judge whether or not the Spaniards have the vivacity which I have attributed to them, I will conduct him to circles where they are at ease; to their repasts, even before the ya-

pours of the food and wine have fermented in their brain; I will introduce him to their conversations which abound in sprightliness, pleasantries, and equivoques, all the legitimate and illegitimate offspring of vivacity; and will there ask him, if this be not more open and better supported than the French societies, circles, or petit-soupers. Undoubtedly he will say, that this vivacity is too noisy; that it is vulgar. But contemptible is that delicacy which condemns men to tiresome insipidity. Let this cheerfulness however, be condemned or not, by the caprice of fashion, it does not the less exist because our prejudices have taken a contrary turn.

One might make similar observations on other defects with which the Spaniards are continually reproached. If I have not quite absolved them from their idleness, I have taken the liberty to assert, that it was the consequence of transient circumstances, and will disappear with them. In fact, when we witness the activity which appears upon the coast of Catalonia, throughout the whole kingdom of Valencia, in the mountains of Biscay, and in all places where industry is encouraged, and commodities have an easy and certain sale; when, on the other hand, we observe the laborious life of the muleteers and calessieros, who courageously conduct their mules and carriages throughout the whole country by the most dangerous roads; the husbandmen, who, in the plains of La Mancha and Andalusia, harden themselves to the labours of the fields, which the nature of the soil, the distance of their habitations, and the heat of the most burning climate in Europe, render more painful than in other countries: when we consider the number of Galician, and Asturians who, like our Auverguians and Limousins, seek at a distance the slow and painful means of subsistence; when we perceive that the idleness with which the Spaniards are so much reproached, is circumscribed within the boundaries of the two Castiles, that is, the part of Spain the most un-

provided with roads, canals, and navigable rivers; it is but just, to conclude that this vice is not an indelible stain on the character of the Spanish nation.

There is another defect which has much affinity to idleness, at least it manifests itself by much the same symptoms; which is slowness, or inertiæ; and from this it would be more difficult to exculpate the Spaniards. It must be allowed, that knowledge penetrates but slowly into Spain. In political measures, war, and all the operations of government; nay, even in the common occurrences of life, when other nations act, they still deliberate. Mistrustful and circumspect, they fail in as many affairs by slowness, as others by precipitation. This is the more extraordinary, as their lively imagination should seem of a nature to be irritated by delay. But in nations, as in individuals, there is not a single quality which is not frequently modified by a contrary one, and in the struggle, the triumph is always on the side to which the mind is most forcibly disposed by the circumstance of the moment. The Spaniard, naturally cold and deliberate when nothing extraordinary moves him, is inflamed to enthusiasm, when his haughtiness, resentment, or any of the passions which compose his character, are awakened either by insult or opposition. Hence it is, that the Spanish nation, apparently the most grave, cold, and slow in Europe, sometimes becomes one of the most violent when circumstances deprive it of its habitual calm and deliver it up to the empire of the imagination. The most dangerous animals are not those which are in the most continued agitation. The aspect of the lion is grave as his pace; his motions are not without an object: his roarings not in vain. As long as his inaction is undisturbed, he loves peace and silence, but if he be provoked, he shakes his mane; fire sparkles in his eyes, he roars tremendously, and the king of animals appears.

I do not mean to assert the superiority of Spain over the rest of Europe, I only say that the general

conduct of the people proves, more perhaps than that of any other nation in the world, that qualities apparently different may be found united in the same character, such as violence and slowness, cold gravity and extreme irascibility. This mixture of character is particularly remarkable in two of the chief affections of the soul, devotion and courage. Under appearances equally calm, the one often becomes fanaticism, and the other fury.

The Spanish nation, with some few modern exceptions, are guided by a respect for religious mummeries, and opinions, in a word they are too justly accused of superstition. One may even assert that in Spain this deformed bastard sister of religion, has been almost without interruption, either on, or near the throne. She was constantly seated by the side of the weak and valetudinary Charles II. she was ever with Philip V. who was good and virtuous, but without energy; pious with sincerity, but to an excess. With Ferdinand VI. she appeared in his fondness for pageantry and his pleasures. But her influence with these three monarchs and their successor, at least sheltered them from the corruption of morals, of which their subjects too often were the examples; and explains the rare phenomenon of a succession of sovereigns who were without a mistress.

As for Charles III. plain in his manners, exemplary and regular in his private life, scrupulously just in his character of king, in his death, in his actions, and in his conversation, yet still he was the slave of superstition.

It is more especially the duty of the founder of an order which bears the name of St. Januarius, and which has for a motto, "In sanguine fœdus," to believe implicitly in the liquefaction of the blood of this blessed Neapolitan, and an occasion was not wanting to demonstrate the blind faith which Charles had avowed in this miracle. I have heard him relate that while he reigned at Naples, the miracle was inter-

rupted all at once. It was in vain that the holy vial was shaken, the blood remained coagulated, and it was a long time before the cause was discovered. It must be remembered that this vial is deposited in the very shrine of the saint, but apart, and separated by a partition. It is a tradition at Naples, that if there was the least communication between the body of the saint, and his miraculous blood, the liquefaction would cease. The tomb was examined with care, and a small chink or crack was discovered in the partition which separated the vial from the body. This small damage was immediately repaired and the blood as soon recovered its property of liquefaction. Let who will explain this miracle. But one must believe it, for as la Fontaine says, "a king never tells a lie," and Charles III. above any other monarch deserved this eulogium.

This prince was pleased to relate another event, probably more strange than the former.

One may recollect the danger he experienced in the year 1744, when an Austrian army, commanded by the prince of Lobkowitz, marched to Naples to dethrone Don Carlos (this was himself) and the happiness he had to escape in the battle of Veletri. The success of the business depended, as he said, on a battery advantageously placed at the entrance of a certain street, by which the Austrians who sought him, must necessarily pass. This battery so annoyed them, that they took another direction and so lost the victory, and the prey which they came to seize. At the end of the battle, it was inquired, who was the experienced and faithful subject who had thus placed these protecting guns. He was sought throughout the whole army, an ample reward was promised him, but no one appeared. From that time it was believed by Don Carlos, and those who surrounded him, that the battery was placed there by the hand of God, and Charles III. carried this belief with him to the grave.

It may be supposed that such pious kings must be surrounded by servants and subjects animated by the same zeal for religion, and whatever was in any degree connected with it, it must be allowed that most of the nobles, the generals, and ministers, in this respect conformed to their august models. There are few noble families who have not some relics among the family jewels.

I have heard it related of the minister Galvez, (who certainly could not be accused of having a weak head), that he had been witness to the following fact: Being at Seville, he had the happiness to see the body of St. Ferdinand. The air of serenity which still reigned in the features, inspired a sense of devotion which it was impossible to resist. An Englishman, who was among the spectators, and who had expressed the most impious opinions of the exercise of the Romish religion, was so much affected with the venerable aspect of the blessed saint, that he shed tears in the middle of the church, and became a catholic from that moment.

The same minister, Galvez, related also in my hearing, that being in Mexico, he there saw the body of the first bishop of Gaudalaxara, who died with the reputation of great sanctity. This body was not subject to putrefaction. Clothed in his pontifical garments, he seemed to enjoy a peaceable slumber.

The life of this bishop had been a continued series of miracles, of which we may judge by the following example.

Before he was raised to the episcopacy, he was counsellor of the audience of Guadalaxara. A criminal process had been brought before this tribunal. The accused was condemned to die, and every voice, even that of the future bishop had pronounced the sentence. But when it was presented to the judges, the holy man refused to sign it. They insisted, and asked the reason of this inconsistency. He explained the matter, by saying, that bishops could not sign a sen-

tence of death; and on a reply, that he was not a bishop, he again answered, he felt that he was; they thought his head was turned, but were undeceived, when, a few months afterwards, they learnt, that on the very day that he refused to sign the pope had nominated him to the bishopric of Guadalaxara.

If we wish for more general proofs of the propensity of the Spaniards to superstitious credulities, we may recollect that in the year 1780, the Spanish navy experienced a great misfortune near Cadiz. One of the squadrons was surprized by Rodney, and notwithstanding the bravery of the commander, Langara, it was defeated. Four of the ships were taken by the English. Their names were the Phœnix, the Diligent, the Princess, and the St. Dominique. All those which escaped were named after the saints; of this circumstance the Spaniards did not fail to take particular notice; and, as by a singular chance, the St. Dominique blew up at the moment when she was going to be manned by the victor; it was said, that her patron saint had rather chosen to let her perish, than to see her fall into the hands of heretics.

I do not, however, mean to assert that these remarks were made by the officers of the squadron. They do not all resemble their admiral Barcelo, who having commenced his career as master of a vessel, and who having preserved, in the highest rank of the navy, the simplicity of his former state, said that there was no merit in his having courage, because he considered himself invulnerable, and who in displaying his scapulary, asserted seriously that he had seen more than one ball coming right towards him, that was turned aside at the approach of this talisman.

But what nation is there either ancient or modern that has not been tainted with the same ridiculous superstitions. In Rome, in Greece, their philosophers, their historians, have paid this tribute to human weakness. Plutarch, Tacitus, Socrates himself was not exempt; Racine not only believed, but related

some of the miracles worked at Port Royal. It is true that in our days the Spaniards are in this respect the most credulous people in Europe. It must be allowed that there are always some, and I have known several who owe to their education, to their proper habit of thinking, and to travelling, a very liberal judgment on the subject of religion and matters of faith.

But in the classes where education is neglected, (and these are very numerous) where they have little communication with their betters, and few means of enlightening themselves, superstition and fanaticism are still carried to a degree seldom found in Flanders or Bavaria; because religion, always assimilating with the character of the people, must have very warm and ardent votaries in a nation remarkable for the vivacity of its imagination and the violence of its passions.

This mixture of strength and imbecility produces still in our days the most cruelly fantastical effects. There is a church in Madrid, where, during the Holy Week, the most fervent of the faithful meet in a dark vault. Long whips are given them on their entrance; they strip themselves naked to the waist, and on a certain signal, flagellate themselves with such violence that the blood runs in streams from their bodies. During this barbarous ceremony their silence is interrupted only by the sighs of repentance, and the groans of pain. Thus most of them employ a transient cessation from a life of licentiousness.—Unhappy wretches! they have no other witness to this voluntary martyrdom than God and their conscience, and the next day believe both the one and the other.

One may easily imagine that the metropolis has not this privilege exclusively. In some provinces, the day begins with similar scenes of scandalous piety. A very creditable gentleman assured me that a few years ago, in a town of Estremadura, he was witness of the following scene. He was acquainted there with a lady of an amiable and lively character, and

possessing all the agreeable qualities of her age and sex. He went to visit her once on a Good Friday: her countenance and deportment displayed an air of cheerfulness, and she was dressed in a beautiful white robe. He asks her the reason of this extraordinary appearance on a day of mourning and penitence. "You will soon know it," said she. At this moment the flagellants were to pass her house. She waited for them with every mark of impatience. At last they appear. She approaches the window, which was on the ground floor, and looked into the street. The flagellants stop before her, and lash themselves. In an instant she is besprinkled with drops of blood from their bodies, and appears delighted at seeing her garments wetted with this horrid dew. The enigma of her white robe was now explained to the spectator. I will suppose, if you please, that gallantry played a part in this pious work of penitence, and that the lover of the young lady was among the actors.—But the scene appears on this account, the more atrociously absurd.

These are some samples of Spanish devotion. It is not extended to such excess all over the kingdom. The enlightened Spaniards, who increase every day, sigh to see it still deeply rooted. In the latter days of the pious Charles III. attempts were made with success to produce some salutary reforms.

At Madrid a great number of their processions, called rosarios, are now suppressed: these almost at every hour in the day used to cross the city in every direction, on their way from one church to another, chanting the most unintelligible psalmody;—ceremonies not only without necessity, in the eye of sound religion, but having no other effect than to fatigue the passers by, to draw the workmen from their shops, and mothers of families from their domestic employment.—Nevertheless, the court of Rome whenever she would encroach on the rights of the temporal authority, is set at defiance.

The estates of the clergy are no longer considered as inviolable; while the disorderly conduct of the lower clergy and of the monks is blamed without scruple; and strict measures are taken to restrain them.

In short, it is now extensively felt, that "the regeneration of Spain depends on the diminution of the vast number of convents!"

On the other hand (for I have promised to tell all) the Spaniards still entertain a respect for the most obscure ecclesiastics; which must appear contemptible in the eyes of the most sincere christian in any other country.—In almost every house in Spain you meet either priests or monks; and they are regarded as a shield against the anger of God and even of men. I saw, when I passed through Valencia in 1799, at the time when our nation was an object of animosity, that several French ladies of my acquaintance owed their preservation entirely to the intercession of some priests who came to their assistance.

When the ecclesiastics are met in the streets, the people form a line, and give them the wall; and every person, of whatever rank, on approaching them, respectfully kisses either their hands or the sleeve of their venerable robe; and this act of christian humility is received with sufficient arrogance. I shall class the following particulars not amongst the acts of superstition, but amongst the testimonies of devotion, which will be thought singular by others than freethinkers.

In Spain, if a gentleman in his carriage meet a priest on foot, carrying the host, he gets out and offers him his place. This he does not fail to accept: and the gentleman, whatever may be the weather, however he may be dressed, or his business ever so pressing, walks slowly by the side of the coach, accompanying the priest to the house of the sick person. There he waits till the functions of the priest be finished; and then escorts him again, still

on foot, to the church from whence he came. Not till then does he resume his station. Sometimes the priest, of himself, when he sees a carriage stop at a door, takes it without ceremony; and when the owner appears, the direction in which it went is indicated to him, and he may either wait its return or follow it. The pious orthodox are pleased with these trifling inconveniences; and even those who, for some cause or other, are not of their opinion, wisely keep from murmuring.

When the holy wafer is carried about, a little bell announces its approach. Immediately all business, all entertainment, all pleasure is suspended; and every one continues on his knees till it has passed. Even Protestants, who look upon this homage as a species of idolatry, scarcely dare to dispense with it. So far there is nothing more than what is conformable to the faith and doctrine of the catholic religion; but when the ludicrous appears, it is, as I have seen more than once at Madrid, when the Host passes a play-house. As soon as the little bell is heard, the play is instantly stopped. Spectators and actors, whatever their parts, Moors, Jews, and even devils,* all without exception turn towards the door that leads to the street, and, kneeling, remain in that position as long as the bell can be heard; and it requires not a little self-command to check an inclination for laughter.

Another custom which must appear singular to an observer, even if he be himself a catholic, is to see on certain days notice fixed on the churches to this effect: "Oy se saca animas;" "To-day souls are

* This is no exaggeration. One day during the performance of the play called "The Devil turned Preacher," a very whimsical piece, where the devil is introduced into a convent in the dress of a monk, the sacrament passed just at the time the pretended monk was on the stage, and he was obliged to kneel as well as the others; which of course stopped the performance for some minutes.

relieved from purgatory." On the eve and the day of All-souls, this delivery is universally announced with the most doleful pomp. The churches are hung with black; the tombs are opened; a coffin covered with black, and surrounded with wax-lights, is placed in the nave of the church; and in one corner, figures in wood, representing the souls of the deceased are half way plunged into the flames. To succeed in drawing from purgatory those for whom they interest themselves, they pray a long time with great fervour; and passing afterwards rapidly from these charitable funeral employments to every worldly recreation, the day is finished by a jovial banquet, the principal dish of which is called *trépassés*, a kind of cake made of flour, butter, and aniseed.

These customs prevail in almost every catholic country, and tend to cast a ridicule upon devotion; but in none, except perhaps in Italy, are they so frequent and general as in Spain.

A custom not the least absurd is observed at the door of the church of St. Anthony, on the day of his festival; it is that of driving horses and mules in great solemnity to partake of a small quantity of oats, which a priest has sanctified by his benediction, and which is to preserve these beasts from sickness all the year, is not sound religion.

The monkish habit is so respected, that a preservative virtue is attributed to it, even beyond this life, whatever irregularities may have been committed under it. Nothing is more common than to see the dead buried in a friar's dress, and conducted in this manner with their face uncovered, which is almost the general custom in Spain. The Franciscan habit is the object of a marked predilection in the devotion of the deceased. The convents of this order have a special warehouse appropriated to this posthumous wardrobe; and there is so great a sale of these habits that a stranger, who was only a few months at Madrid, without being informed of this singular custom,

and seeing nothing but Franciscans interred, expressed to me his surprize at the prodigious number of them in that city, and asked me seriously, if their community, whatever their number, were not entirely carried off by this violent epidemic.

In the same manner that the monkish habit accompanies some to the grave, it rises with others from the cradle. It is not uncommon to see gamboling in the streets, little monks of the age of four or five years. Sometimes the parents, whose whimsical vow they thus expiate, take the liberty of exercising their paternal severity on this holy robe; but that is perhaps the only outrage the habit receives in Spain; and these innocent creatures are the only monks who submit to the austerities of penance.

On entering a house, unless you wish to be considered as impious, or, what is still worse, a heretic, you must begin with these words, "Ave Maria, purissima;" to which you will certainly receive this answer, "sin peccado concebida." There is still fixed every year at the church doors, the "index" or the list of those books, especially foreign, of which the holy office has thought proper to interdict the reading on pain of excommunication. But many of them certainly have not sufficient merit to deserve this proscription. What respect can we have for the thunder of the church, when it is hurled only by caprice or ignorance? Can the impious, or, if you please, the philosophers, wish for any other means to render it contemptible?

To conclude this subject, I shall observe that that tribunal, secretly appreciated by a good number of wise men in the country, the inquisition is still honourably received by a great part of the nation. It still has its tremendous forms, its familiers, even in the most exalted classes, and sometimes its victims, &c. &c. &c.

Let us be just, even though we may mortify the pride of those who desire nothing but unqualified

praise, snd declare without calumny, that Spain is still the birth-place of mummery, and the land of fanaticism and superstition.

We have seen the influence of the character and education of the modern Spaniards on their religion. Let us now observe what influence it has upon their courage.

The causes which formerly kept it in a state of activity have disappeared. It is a long time since there were any Moors in their neighbourhood, who were the constant food of their courage; if it do not appear in the same degree of fermentation as it was then, if it appear to sleep, it may rouse; and indeed it does awake at the least signal. The fits of fury which were called holy, are become infinitely more rare. The time when it was fired by the mere name of infidel; the age of the Pizarros and the Almagros is gone by with the Spaniards. Religious intolerance, if not entirely corrected among them, has borne for some time at least more the stamp of ridicule than the appearance of atrocity; and in their wars with the Mussulmen they fight the enemies of their country rather than the enemies of their religion.

They begin even to feel that religion may suffer a government to treat as useful neighbours those that were formerly looked upon as irreconcileable enemies. In Spain, as elsewhere, reason, the progress of mind and philosophy well understood, though slow, have sensibly softened their manners. The remains of ancient barbarism disappear one after another.

Assassinations were formerly more common in Spain than at present. Every man of consequence had assassins in his pay. They were hired in the kingdom of Valencia, in the same manner as it is pretended that a few years ago we hired witnesses in some of our provinces. This disgraceful custom was chiefly owing to the kind of arms that

were worn. It was a sort of triangular poniard, which, hidden under the cloak, was drawn, to take vengeance on the first moment of an affront. A stroke from it was more dangerous than that of the sword, which cannot be used privately, and the management of which requires some dexterity, and is even more dangerous than the common poniard, called *rejon*. The use of these weapons of perfidy is not yet quite abolished, and justifies one of the accusations with which the character of the Spaniards continues to be vilified by foreigners.

It is very difficult to correct the morals or even the manners of a people by violent and sudden means. The minister Squilaci made, it is said, forty years ago, with the consent of Charles III. the difficult experiment. The long cloaks and the flapped hats (*sombreros chambergos*), a costume in which it was difficult to recognise one's best friend, favoured all sorts of disorders, particularly those which endangered the safety of the citizen. To proscribe them, he had recourse to coercive laws and acts. His satellites were stationed in the cross-ways, and being provided with scissars, curtailed the cloaks of all those who exceeded the prescribed length. He being a foreigner, and the minister of a sovereign who had passed a great part of his life out of Spain, expected to find the Castilians as manageable as Peter the Great had found the Russians. But the people mutinied. The king began to be afraid; and the minister was put to death. The costume so rudely attacked, outlived him some time;—but more slow and lenient measures (the example of the court and those belonging to it, and the activity of a vigilant police) have greatly diminished these inconveniences. The flapped hats, which encouraged both insult and crimes, by insuring their impunity, have entirely disappeared in the capital; and the cloak, a dress very convenient for those

who know how to use it, now favours nothing but idleness.

The use of the fatal poniard exists still in some parts of Spain, but only amongst the inferior classes of the people. There are still some bullies who make use of it to frighten the timorous; and some violent men, to whom it is a ready instrument of vengeance. The ecclesiastics have employed the arguments of charity and peace to make their congregations discard them. The last archbishop of Granada, in particular, was very successful by means of his preaching. But these measures have not been so efficacious every where. The kingdom of Valencia, the country most favoured by Heaven, where it should seem that beauty of climate and the goodness of nature would excite only the softer passions, is digraced by frequent murders. One of the prerogatives of the crown is, that the king can every year pardon one criminal condemned to death, if there be the least circumstance in his favour. But it has been remarked that, in the list presented to the king, by the assembly of Valencia, for a number of years, there has not been a single criminal condemned, whose case was at all pardonable; so much premeditated atrocity was observed in their crimes.

The poniard and the assassin are still tolerably common in Andalusia; and it is there verified how powerful the influence of the climate is when not counterbalanced by moral agency. During the summer a certain easterly wind (called *le vent de médine*) occasions a kind of phrensy, which renders these excesses much more frequent than at any other time of the year.

But let the natural face of Spain be changed; let canals and roads be constructed through those of her cantons which are at present inaccessible; in short, let the plans of the present government continue to be

executed, and the influence of climate will give way in this respect, as well as in others, to these powerful causes.

The revolutions which have happened in their manners within the last sixty years, justify this prediction. It was only during the last century that two customs, which reason and humanity had a long time proscribed, began to become less common: I mean the *rondilla* and the *pedreades*. The former is a species of defiance shown to one another by two troops of itinerant musicians. Without any other motive than to prove their courage, they present each other with firearms and swords; each side begins with firing, and they then have recourse to their swords. It will scarcely be believed that this custom still exists in Navarre and in Arragon; and that a similar defiance took place in the month of August 1792, between two parishes near the town of Saragossa.

The custom of the "pedreades" has only within these few years disappeared. This was also a kind of combat between two troops armed with slings, who attacked and overwhelmed one another with stones. Such manners seem equally to accuse those who resort to, and the government that tolerates them.

We may further give as a proof of the modern reformation upon the morals of the Spaniards, the rarity of duelling. Formerly, the nicest point of honour, carried to excess, occasioned amongst them very frequent duels, of which their plays and their romances bear testimony. At present, their courage, though not so soon inflamed, may still serve in time of war for the defence of their country, without interrupting its tranquillity in time of peace; and during the space of nearly ten years, that I resided in Spain, I did not hear of one fatal duel having taken place; and very rarely indeed of any rencontres.

On the other hand, the Spaniards have preserved

even to this day many of their ancient virtues; and particularly those of patience and sobriety. The one makes them hardy in their enterprizes and indefatigable in their occupations; the other shields them from the excesses so very common among the other nations of Europe. Without wishing to detract from the first of these virtues, I would say that they are indebted for it to their natural constitutions and to the quality of their food. Their robust and nervous bodies, dried and hardened by a hot climate, can better support the privation and superabundance of food. The flesh of animals, at least in the middle provinces of Spain, contains more nutriment than elsewhere. Their vegetables, being less spongy than in other countries, where water contributes more to their growth than the sun, also contain more nourishment. Foreigners who settle in Madrid very soon perceive this; and if they were fully to satisfy their usual appetite, they would soon be convinced, (by a very painful disease called "entripado," a kind of colic which the physicians of this country alone can cure) that have changed both food and climate.

The sobriety of the Spaniards is also owing in a great measure to Nature, which always making use of means proportioned to the end required, has given them a constitution analogous to the strength of the wine which their land produces; whilst foreigners do not with impunity gratify their taste to excess. I have known repeated and striking examples of this fact. I saw seven or eight domestics, which were in the suite of our ambassador, Count Montmorin had brought with him, who drank the wine of La Mancha as freely as they would the light wines of France, miserably perish in less than six years. They were almost constantly in a state of intoxication, and their decay was visible to the most inattentive observer. The Spaniards, who follow the same custom, do not experience the same inconvenience. It is extremely

rare to see one overcome with wine;* and if you meet a drunken soldier in the street, you may lay ten to one that he is a foreigner, and twenty to one that he is a Swiss.

The Spaniards will pardon me for ascribing to their climate the virtue of sobriety (which is so unanimously granted to them). Is it not comparing them to other nations, and even to every individual of the human species, who owe their qualities equally to their education, their station, their habits, to example, and a thousand other causes which do not depend upon themselves? And is it not also a great merit that they have profited by these benign influences?

The Spaniards may at least boast of having triumphed over the influence which led them to a certain excess, and which might have served for their excuse. I particularly allude to a depraved passion, repugnant to nature, injurious to the fair sex, and too common among the inhabitants of southern countries. This base passion is entirely unknown in Spain. Jealousy, another outrage against that sex which is the object of our homage, seems also to depend on the influence of a climate which communicates its ardour both to the senses and to the imagination. This odious passion, once so offensive in its suspicions, so injurious and cruel in its precautions, and implacable in its resentment, is now much weakened among the modern Spaniards. If in Spain the lovers be tormented with suspicion, and sometimes

* I must in justice maintain this assertion; whatever may be the assertions of a German writer, who has travelled in Spain more recently than I have, and pretends to have met with many drunkards. A Spaniard, speaking to me lately on this subject, said, "This accusation comes from a German, who wishes to exaggerate this failing among the Spaniards, in order to excuse his own countrymen." I do not adopt this recrimination, but I persist in my statement.

too severe in their vengeance, there is no country in Europe that can boast of so few jealous husbands. The women who were formerly deprived of all intercourse, who could hardly be seen through the grates of their windows, now enjoy perfect liberty. Their veils, (mantillas) the only remains of their ancient slavery, now serve no other purpose than to defend them against the sun, and to render them more attractive. A tissue at first invented by jealousy, now belies its intention. Coquetry has made it one of its most seducing articles of dress; and in favouring half concealment, has indirectly encouraged the stolen glances of love. Those lovers, who breathed the tale of their disconsolate sufferings under the balcony of their invisible mistresses, and had no other witness or interpreter than their guitar, are now only to be found in plays and romances. Conquests are become less cruel and less dilatory, the husbands are become more tractable, and the women more accessible.

Women!—Who is there that does not feel a lively interest in this word? Who is not disposed to pardon their caprices; to submit to their raillery, and to indulge them in their foibles? Women in every country have some peculiar attractions which characterize them. In England you are charmed by the elegance of their shape and the modesty of their behaviour; in Germany by their rosy lips and the sweetness of their smiles; in France, by that amiable vivacity which animates all their features. The sensation which you experience at the approach of a handsome Spanish lady, has something so bewitching, that it sets description at defiance. Her coquetry is less restrained than that of other women. She cares little about pleasing the world in general. She esteems its approbation much more than she courts it; and is perfectly contented with one, if it be the object of her choice. If she neglect nothing which is likely to carry her point, at least she disdains affectation, and owes very little to the assistance of her toilet. The

complexion of a Spanish woman never borrows any assistance from art. Art never furnishes her with a colour which Nature has denied to her, by placing her under the influence of a burning sun. But with how many charms is she not endowed, as a compensation for her paleness! Where can you find such fine shapes as theirs; such graceful movements, such delicacy of features, and such lightness of carriage? Reserved, and sometimes at first sight even rather melancholy, when she casts upon you her large black eyes full of expression, and when she accompanies them with a tender smile, insensibility itself must fall at her feet. But if the coldness of her behaviour do not prevent you from paying your addresses to her, she is as decided and mortifying in her disdain as she is seducing when she permits you to hope. In this last case she does not suffer you to be long in suspense; and perseverance is followed by happiness.

Perseverance is, without doubt, pleasure with a Spanish woman; but is at the same time a rigorous and slavish duty. Love, even when crowned with success requires that you belong to her alone. The man who has enlisted under her banners, must sacrifice to her all his affections, all his desires, and all his time. He is condemned, not to languor, but to idleness. Those happy mortals whom Spanish women deign to subdue, and are named *cortejos*, are less disinterested, but are not less assiduous than the Italian *cicisbeos*. They must be ready to prove their devotion every hour of the day; to accompany the fair one to the promenade, to the theatre, and even to the confessional. Tempests, however, disturb the serenity of such an union; the slightest incident produces alarm; and a transient wavering is punished like infidelity. It may be said, that in Spain jealousy has fled from Hymen to take refuge in the bosom of Love: and that it belongs more particularly to that

sex which seems made rather to inspire than to experience it.

In short, the bonds of a handsome Spanish woman are less pleasant to support than difficult to avoid. Their caprices, the natural offspring of a lively imagination, are sometimes obstinate and absurd. But it is not easy to reconcile with these transient humours the constancy of the Spanish women in their attachments. The infatuation which they occasion, and which they experience so different from all extreme situations that do not last long, is often prolonged much beyond the ordinary time; and I have seen in this land of ardent passions more than one lover die of old age. May not this apparent contradiction be accounted for from their religious scruples, ill understood as they almost always are? The conscience of a Spanish woman, though complaisant enough to permit one only choice at which her duty murmurs, would it not be alarmed at a succession of infidelities? Does she find for the first an excuse in her frailty, and in the irresistible vow of her heart, that draws her to the only object which nature designed for her? Or does she conceive in succeeding attachments that the sin appears again in all its deformity? This is another enigma in the Spanish women that wants explanation. They reconcile their inconsistencies in morals with the minute observance of religious duties. In many countries these excesses succeed one another alternately. In Spain they are inseparable, as well among the men as the women. In this association of the most incoherent things, their object seems to be not to prevent scandal or to change their conduct, but to make a kind of compensation for their faults.

I have known many men in Spain who frequented the churches with an assiduity which even true Christians might regard as a rigorous obligation; who kept strictly the laws of the church concerning fasts; who rendered to their priests the most abject homage;—

and who notwithstanding led dissolute lives. I have known many women abandoned to an attachment which their duty disapproves, surrounded with relics and scapularies, bind themselves by the most insignificant vows, and fulfil them with scrupulosity.

To endeavour to explain the dissoluteness of morals, is to acknowledge it exists, and notwithstanding my favourable opinion of the Spaniards, I cannot but confess this charge.

More faithful, however, to the resolution I have formed to be impartial, I must add, that this depravity is not so general as libertines, who always exaggerate their indiscretions, are pleased to say it is; that there are even at Madrid, families exemplary in their conduct, faithful husbands, and wives who in other countries would be models of modesty and propriety; that their daughters, although in general not reserved in their carriage, promise much more than they grant, and nothing is more rare than their anticipation of the rights of matrimony; that if opportunities of purchasing pleasures equally shameful and easy to obtain, are frequent for those who seek them, at least prostitution is neither so public nor impudent as in other countries; and that the police, by severely prohibiting its scandalous seminaries, obliges it to conceal itself, and sometimes pursues it to its secret retreats. I shall farther observe, that the women rigorously banish from their society those familiarities* which are considered as indifferent by other

* A woman would not permit the most chaste kiss to be given her in public; and those which are customary in our comedies, and of which no notice is taken, are entirely banished from the Spanish stage. Yet how many victims does not incontinence produce! She punishes not only the guilty, but too often the innocent suffer from the dreadful consequences. That horrible gift which the New World has given to the Old, is become in Spain the patrimony of whole families, and the degeneration of a great number of illustrious races is strikingly visible.

nations, where the senses, not so quickly inflamed. more slowly betray their disorder; and that this distrust of themselves is at least an homage which their weakness renders to modesty. But provided they be not too nearly approached, they permit, and sometimes provoke those allurements at which decency is in other places alarmed.

They pardon equivoque, obscenity, indelicate descriptions, all witticisms and indiscreet expressions. The free manner in which they explain themselves in some instances, cannot but astonish a stranger accustomed to convey his thoughts on similar occasions under a thicker veil. The English women have an extremely delicate and pure imagination, and no person would dare to wound their ears with an expression in the least tending to indecency. It is said they carry reserve in this respect to that degree of excess which we should call prudery. French women, who do not repel the sallies of an innocent gaiety, but whose decency impresses awe upon effrontery, are, in their turn, prudes in comparison to the Spanish women. I have seen the latter hear without a blush, and even permit themselves expressions, which men of but few scruples would have reserved for the orgies of debauchery. I have heard several of them sing couplets which breathed something more than voluptuousness, and left the penetration of the hearer nothing to imagine. This circumstance alone, however, would not be sufficient to prove the depravity of manners in Spain.

Purity of morals is certainly not a matter of conversation. In every country depravity is nearly the same, except the modifications given it by law and religion. The moral purity of language is something different; this varies according to time and place; it depends upon climate, custom, manners, and genius of language. Women who permit themselves freedom of expression, and give the example of it, are certainly not on that account more seducing

to persons of delicacy, but they are not more easily seduced. The woman who jests with vice is, perhaps, farther removed from it than she who carefully repels it from her imagination, from a conviction of her own weakness; besides, as it has frequently been remarked, manners are never more corrupted than when the moral purity of language is carried to the most scrupulous excess; because then every mind is filled with depraved ideas, and the greatest precaution must be taken that they may not be awakened. On the contrary, a nation not yet corrupted by excess of civilization, may have in its language a kind of ingenuousness which renders expressions far from entirely chaste; and when, like our first parents, it begins to blush at its nakedness, we may be sure, that, like them, it has no longer preserved its innocence.

This, however, is not the case of the Spanish nation. I have only wished to prove that the liberties the Spaniards permit themselves in their language, may nevertheless be reconciled with much purer manners. I should be inclined to believe these modes of expression, shocking to the decency of other nations, would disappear by a more refined civilization, more precautions in the education of young persons, almost exclusively abandoned to the government of servants, even in the most distinguished houses, and especially by better example, the most efficacious of all educations. But can a young lady, who from the most tender age has been familiarized to the grossest expressions, which her presence commands not respect enough to repress; who in companies, to which she is frequently admitted, hears applause bestowed on impudence, which disdains to throw a transparent veil even over the obscenities in which it indulges: can one, whose ears are early accustomed to the indecent expressions which are permitted on the stage, and whose eyes repeatedly behold the wanton attitudes exhibited in the favourite Spanish dance, long

preserve in her imagination and language that virgin purity which is, perhaps, the greatest charm of her sex?

The character and manners of a people would be but imperfectly known if they were only seen in their serious occupations and under the influence of passion. They shew themselves more decidedly in their festivals, their games and their taste. I shall endeavour to delineate the Spaniards under these different heads.

Nothing forms a stronger contrast to the gravity of the Spaniards than their favourite dance, called the *fandango.* It is a truly national dance, full of expression, at which foreigners who are a little scrupulous are at first shocked, but they soon become enchanted with it.

As soon as the fandango is struck up by the musicians at a ball, all faces begin to be animated, and the spectators even if their age condemns them to a state of immobility, have great difficulty to keep from falling in with the dancers. A very ingenious apologue has been formed, to give an idea of its irresistible fascination.

It is said that the court of Rome, scandalized that a country so renowned for the purity of its faith had not long ago proscribed such a profane dance, resolved to pronounce the solemn condemnation of it. A consistory assembled, the prosecution of the fandango was begun, according to rule; and a sentence was about to be thundered against it, when one of the judges judiciously observed, that a criminal ought not to be condemned without being heard. The observation had weight with the assembly. Two Spaniards were brought before it, and to the sound of instruments displayed all the graces of the fandango. The severity of the judges was not proof against the exhibition; their austere countenances began to relax; they rose from their seats, and their arms and legs soon found

their former suppleness. The consistory hall was changed into a dancing-room, and the fandango was acquitted.

After such a triumph, it may be imagined that the remonstrances of decency have but little effect; its empire seems to be firmly established. It is, however, different according to the places in which it is practised. It is frequently called for at the theatre, and generally closes private dances. In these cases the intention is no more than lightly indicated; but on other occasions, when a few persons assembled seem wantonly to shake off all scruples, the meaning is then so marked, that voluptuousness assails the mind at every avenue: its incitements cause the heart of the modest youth to palpitate with desire, and reanimate the deadened senses of old age. The fandango is danced by persons only, who never touch so much as even the hand of each other: but when we view their reciprocal allurements, their retreats and approaches; when we observe the female, in the moment when her languor announces an approaching defeat, suddenly acquire new courage to escape from her conqueror, who pursues her, and is pursued in his turn; the manner in which these emotions are expressed by their looks, gestures, and attitudes, it is impossible not to confess with a blush, that these scenes are, to the real combats of Cytherea, what our military evolutions in peace are to the real display of the art of war.

The seguidilla is another dance peculiar to the Spaniards. The figure is formed by eight persons: at each corner the four couple retrace, although but momentarily, the principal movements of the fandango. A Spanish female dancing the seguidilla, dressed in character, accompanying the instruments with castanets, and marking the measure with her heel with uncommon precision, is certainly one of the most seducing objects which love can employ to extend his

empire. There is in Spain a dance still more voluptuous if possible than the fandango, but it belongs rather to the provinces than the capital; it is called the volero. Andalusia is its native country: as it seems invented particularly for the Andalusians of both sexes; a remnant of decency has banished it almost entirely from private balls, but it is danced still often enough on the stage.

The Spanish nation has a decided taste for dancing, and the greatest aptitude to excel in the art. Besides the dances peculiar to the nation they have adopted those of other countries without excepting the minuet; but the noble easy graces of this dance escape them. It appears, however, to have many attractions in the eyes of the Spaniards, and makes an essential part of their education. Each ball has a president, who, under the name of bastonero is to make every body dance the minuet, and who, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours to consult the inclination of every one, in forming the couples, never fails to give offence to some. In the reign of Philip V. masquerades were forbidden throughout all Spain. The count de Aranda, who, while attentive to the police of the capital, did not neglect its pleasures, had revived the public balls and proscribed masquerades under Philip; but these two amusements, which in other places are considered as innocent, survived not the retreat of the minister, being disused when his administration ceased, to the regret of the inhabitants of the capital.

The game to which the common people seem most attached, is a feeble and spiritless image of the games which kept the strength and address of the ancients in continual activity. It is called the "El juego de la barra," and consists in throwing a bar of iron to a certain distance. Another game, much liked by the people, but still more insipid, is known as well in Italy as in Spain. Several men sitting in a circle hold up, in their turn, four, six, or ten fingers, and rapidly call aloud the exact number held up.

People of fashion have recreations of another kind. In general they seldom assemble to eat at each others houses; and this is undoubtedly one of the circumstances which contributes to their reputation for sobriety. They are little acquainted with the innocent and healthful pleasures of the country. But few among them are fond of the chace; of which the monarch and his family seem to possess the exclusive privilege. The amusements of the country appear to have no attractions for the Spaniards. Their country houses might easily be numbered. Among the many rich individuals who inhabit the capital, there are, perhaps, not ten who have a country retreat. With respect to the castles, seats, &c. so numerous in France, England, and Italy, and which contribute to the embellishment of the environs of their capitals, there are so few in the vicinage of Madrid and the rest of the Peninsula, that many travellers are of opinion the proverbial expression, "building castles in Spain," is thence derived.

The rich subjects of the kingdom therefore concentrate all their pleasures within the cities. Music is one of those for which the Spaniards have the greatest taste. They cultivate this art with success. Not that their national music has made any great progress. If it has a particular character, it is to be found mostly in little detached airs, called, in Spain, tanadillas and seguidillas: sometimes agreeable melodies, but of which the modulations are but little varied, and prove that the art of composition is still in its infancy. In return for this they do the greatest justice to the grand compositions of Germany and Italy, which always form a part of their frequent concerts; but they have the most profound contempt for French music, which, in their opinion, is languid and monotonous, not excepting the vaudeville. Their prejudice, in this respect, is carried to such a height, that the Italian air would become displeasing to them by appearing in the livery of French words; so vain are they of their

sonorous and cadenced language, and so persuaded that French syllables, by turns, mute and nasal, exclude the language from the possibility of being adapted to music. They have many lovers of harmony, but few composers worthy of notice.

Balls and concerts are not the only entertainments at which the Spaniards assemble. They have also their tertulias and refrescos. The tertulias are assemblies very similar to those of France. Perhaps more liberty reigns in the former, but languor sometimes establishes its throne there as well as in the midst of our circles.

The women in general seek not many occasions to assemble; each aspires to be the centre of a tertulia; and exclusive pretensions undoubtedly contribute to banish from Spanish societies what we call "French gallantry." Women are there admired, and even adored, as well as elsewhere; but when they inspire not a lively sentiment, the men seldom pay them those attentions which our politeness prodigally and indiscriminately bestows upon every individual of the amiable sex. It is not in the reciprocal communication of tenderness that manners are softened. The language of mere politeness is too cold for love: that impetuous passion commands and exacts sacrifices, but despises simple respect. On the contrary, it is in a disinterested association of the two sexes, that the necessity of mutual desire of pleasing arises, which forms the charm and cement of society. This is, perhaps, the only means wanting to the Spaniards to accomplish the polishing of their manners.

Their refrescos, the invention of luxury and greediness, contribute no less than the tertulias to facilitate the intercourse of the two sexes. In general, those are only light repasts, prepared for persons from whom visits are received, and are as a prelude to the tertulias; but on great occasions, when a wedding, christening, or the birth-day of the head of a family, is to be celebrated, the refresco becomes an important

and a very expensive affair. All the family acquaintance are invited; and, in proportion as they arrive, the men separate from the women. The latter take their seats in a particular chamber, and etiquette requires they should remain alone until all the company be assembled, or at least till the men stand up without approaching them. The lady of the house waits for them under a canopy, in a place set apart in the hall, which in ancient manners, not yet entirely abolished, was called the estrado, over which is commonly suspended an image of the Virgin. The appearance of the refresco, at length, enlivens every countenance, and infuses joy into every heart; conversation becomes animated, and the sexes approach each other. The company are first presented with great glasses of water, in which little sugar-loaves, called "Azucar esponjado," or rosado, square, and of a very spongy substance, are dissolved; these are succeeded by chocolate, the favourite refreshment twice a day of the Spaniards, and which is believed to be so nourishing, or at least innocent, that it is not refused to persons dangerously ill. After the chocolate come all sorts of confectionary.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the profusion with which all these delicacies are distributed. People are not only cloyed with them in the house of festivity, but they put quantities of them into paper, and even into their hats and handkerchiefs; and the servants are speedily dispatched home with the precious savings, which undoubtedly serve to furnish the table of more than one miser for several days. There is something odd in this general rapaciousness; and a stranger admitted, for the first time, to these kind of festivals, in which intoxicating liquors only are spared, seeks to discover the sober nation, and finds it not. It may be imagined that such entertainments must weigh heavily on the economy of many individuals; most people regret the custom which makes it necessary on certain occasions; but, as is the case with all abuses,

become sacred by length of time, nobody has sufficient courage to be the first to shake off the yoke.

A ball or card-table commonly succeeds to the refresco; but it very seldom happens that the entertainment is concluded with a supper. This is always a very frugal repast with the Spaniards, and at which they rarely assemble.

Cookery amongst the Spaniards is such as they received from their ancestors, and is of a nature to please but very few people. They are fond of high seasonings; pepper, pimenta, tomates, or saffron, colour or season most of their dishes. One of them only has been introduced amongst strangers, and the art of the French kitchen has not disdained to adopt it; this is what in Spain is called ollapodida, and is a sort of hotch-potch of every kind of meat cooked together. There is, however, generally a mixture in the Spanish cookery, except in some obscure families attached to ancient customs; in most houses it participates of the French cookery, and in some this has wholly supplanted that of Spain. Thus are the French every where imitated, whilst they are ridiculed and sometimes detested.

The modes of France have reached Spain as well as many other countries. French cloths, and the fashions and colours approved in France, are worn under the Spanish cloak. The veil is no longer exclusively worn but by the women of the lowest classes; for others it serves but to hide the disorder of their dress when they go out on foot. Except in this case, their head-dress and whole attire are carefully adjusted to the French fashion. The Spanish manufacturers exert themselves to the utmost to serve the reigning taste, and to follow it through all its rapid variations without requesting the aid of France; but it may be asserted, without prejudice, that they are yet far from being able to attain their end. Great cities, and even the court, tacitly acknowledge this by having immediate recourse to Paris or Lyons, as to the only

true sources of fashions. In this respect, as in many others, the Spaniards who affect the bon ton, confess the superiority of France, and receive from that nation lessons of elegance. Their tables are served after the French manner; they have French cooks, house stewards, and valets de chambre. French milliners are employed to invent new dresses for the ladies. Their heavy inelegant equipages disappear by degrees, and are exchanged for those of their French neighbours. They neglect no means of engaging French artists and manufacturers to settle in Spain, and hold not out to them in vain the prospect of a rapid fortune.

These homages are not confined merely to frivolous objects. The best French works on morality, philosophy, and history are, as well as those of the English, translated into the Spanish language, provided they do not appear dangerous to the purity of the faith. French literary works of mere amusement are, for the most part, those only which have but little merit in the eyes of the Spaniards; and their taste, in this respect, still appears far from inclining to change. Their imagination, bold to extravagance, for which bombast is but enthusiasm, finds French ideas cold and timid. Accustomed to exaggeration and redundance, they are unable properly to value either the justness or precision of the language of French writers. The fine shades of French ridicule and manners escape their eyes, too much accustomed to caricature; and with respect to style, their ear, vitiated by the pompous prosody of their cadenced periods, by the frequent and affected repetition of their sonorous words, can find no grace in accents which speak more to the mind than the senses; and the roundness of elegant French periods is to them entirely lost.

The circumstances which chiefly prevent a reform in their literature, are the models they still admire and endeavour to imitate; these are distinguished by that bad taste which infect all the nations of Europe,

and to which the first literary men in France have paid an ample tribute. The great Corneille was not always free from it, but the finest productions of Racine, Boileau, Paschal, Bossuet, la Bruyere, Massillon, Bourdaloue, Flechier, and Fenelon, were erected on its ruins; as were also those of Voltaire, who, placing the top stone of the edifice, has insured its immortal duration.

If French literature had remained in the state it was when Ronsart, Marot, Benserade, Voiture, and Balzac wrote, their very defects would still serve as models, and we should possess wit and imagination without either reason or taste. What might have happened in France, had no improvement been made there in letters by a concurrence of circumstances, has happened to the Spaniards. Since the time of Lopes de Vega, Quevedo, Rebolledo, and others, whose imaginations, though wild and licentious, were brilliant and fertile, no author with these splendid talents, and at the same time endowed with that good sense which directs their use, has appeared in Spain. Letters have, for upwards of a century, been in the same state. These men of genius, frequently extravagant, even to absurdity in their conceptions, have remained models of style; and their example, without having produced any thing comparable with that which in them is justly admired, has served as an excuse to every reprehensible irregularity of imagination, and all the violent bombast of false eloquence. The national taste is formed upon these models in so invariable a manner, that some authors, who have endeavoured to introduce into the theatre the elegant simplicity which French dramatic writers have attempted to revive, have gained no attention, so that the Spanish stage is still in the same situation as when Boileau satirized its extravagance with so much severity. We shall proceed to a description of its present state.

It would be unjust to judge of the Spanish stage

according to Boileau's severe criticism. It undoubtedly still suffers pieces in which the law of the three unities is flagrantly violated. But besides that, this law may be considered as arbitrary, or at least not absolutely indispensable; there are many Spanish pieces in which it is not transgressed in such a manner as to be prejudicial to the interest. The Spaniards themselves pass condemnation upon most of their heroic comedies, in which princes and princesses, from all corners of Europe, assembled without motive, as well as without probability, are by turns either actors or sports of the most credulous adventures, relate, converse, and joke even in the most critical situations, and conclude by uselessly shedding their blood without having made any spectator shed a tear. Although several of these pieces have original beauties, and all afford proofs of the rare talent of inventing a complicated intrigue, and of finding its denouement in the thread which has served to form it, the Spaniards found not upon this the much contested reputation of their theatre.

Nevertheless, there are some of these productions which they justly consider as intitled to the admiration even of strangers. These are their characteristic pieces, which, though not so well conducted as the best French pieces of the same kind, and though they cannot boast the same accuracy in the choice of ideas and expressions, are generally pleasing in the ground work, faithful in most of the characters, and prove in their authors an uncommon fertility of imagination.

The pieces the Spaniards call "de Capa y Espada," are those which more particularly present an exact representation of ancient manners, and these comedies are perhaps the real sources to be resorted to in the study of them. It is in these pieces that the generosity by which those manners are still characterized, those flights of patriotism and religious zeal which formerly rendered the Spaniards capable of the greatest efforts; the swellings of national pride, which the

pomp of style renders so noble; that irritability with respect to the delicate subjects of love and honour, which made duels so frequent in Spain, before the causes which softened the manners of all Europe had gained sufficient influence over those of the modern Spaniards; the sacrifices and ardour of hopeful love, and the anguishes and arts of a disappointed passion, are traced in the most lively colours. All the combats of the passion of love, all its resources, all the disorders it produces, in a word, all the intrigues now in use, were never publicly represented by any nation with greater variety than by the Spaniards at the period when jealousy, the difficulty of approaching women, and a thousand other obstacles arising from the circumstance of the times, rendered lovers more impatient, desires stronger, and temptations more violent. Such is the description given by the comedies, of which the Spaniards are fond as they were at the time they first appeard.

The Spanish authors, of which Lopes de Vega, Roxas, Solis, Moreto, Arellano, and particularly the immortal Caderon de la Barca, are the most celebrated, have so established this kind of comedy by their success, that more modern authors, as Zamora and Canizares, who wrote at the beginning of this century, dare not attempt any other.

The Spanish theatre, therefore, continues, excepting some difference, what it was in the last century; notwithstanding all I have just said, I cannot but allow that it is full of defects. Incidents unseasonably succeed each other, and are without probability; inequalities are numerous, and every thing is confounded. Real tragedy is never seen without mixture unworthy of its noble nature; and all the comedies, like some of our chamber pieces, equally condemned by reason and taste, associate with affecting and sometimes terrible scenes a wretched parade, fit only for the booths of a fair. 'An insipid buffoon, under the name Gracioso, incessantly distubhs the attention with

his vulgar grimace, and by the bursts of laughter he provokes, arrests the tears which were ready to flow. Lovers are prolix haranguers; an expression of sentiment or delicacy from them, is preceded by a long and cold metaphysical dissertation upon love. Instead of a mother, son, king, or warrior, you would imagine you were hearing some professor of rhetoric, who, to distinguish himself in his art, abuses the talent of speech. Custom has made it necessary that each comedy should contain several recitals or narratives, in which the author and actor, losing sight of the story and the audience, seem to be wholly employed in making a parade, one of his vain eloquence, the other of his pretended talent, of enforcing at the expense of his lungs, and by ridiculous, vulgar, and monotonous gestures, the multiplied descriptions of his long declamation. Both are certain to receive as a recompence for their effort of strength, an ample share of applause. On the other hand the plot is so confused, that there are few Spanish pieces to which those lines of Boileau may not be applied:

> "Et qui debrouillant mal une pénible intrigue
> D'un divertissement me fait une fatigue."

What, however, appears singular is, this fatigue seems not to be felt by Spanish auditors, although they are for the most part of those classes which a total want of education, or at least one much neglected, renders incapable of reflection and combination. I have known many well informed strangers, acquainted with the language of the country, who have declared to me, after the representation of a Spanish comedy, that they should have great difficulty in giving an analysis of it, whilst uneducated Spaniards proved by their recitals, that they had not for a single instant lost the thread of the labyrinth in which others had been bewildered.

It may be asked, has habitually frequenting the theatre added to a knowledge of the language and manners, which strangers can never possess to the

same degree as natives of the country, exclusively bestowed on these persons this singular aptitude? or have the Spaniards received to a greater degree than others the gift of imagining complicated plots, and of following through all their workings those which they themselves have not invented? They have, however, this incontestible advantage over the French. Several of my countrymen, who want neither wit nor education, have confessed to me, that at a first representation they have not been able to conceive the whole of some of our modern comedies, which, in fact, approach in certain respects those of the Spaniards, and it is perhaps the only reason why several of the latter, which, were a few particulars changed, ought to be every where approved, would not be successfully represented on the French stage. This is a homage which our ancestors were not more disposed to render them than we are.

The advantages which Moliere and Corneille derived from the Spanish theatre are well known. The principal beauties of the Cid and of Heraclius were taken from Guillen de Castro and Calderon. The Spanish theatre might still be to us an abundant source of dramatic wealth, especially at present, when our imagination, much less fertile than that of our neighbours, appears to be exhausted, and when our taste more refined and fixed than in the time of Corneille, would be better able to extract from that mine the treasures it conceals. Exact translations of the best Spanish pieces would furnish the means. These we have hitherto wanted; M. Linguet gave some of them to the public on entering his literary career. But he confessed that he knew not enough of the Spanish language, completely to fulfil the task; on which account his translations are no more than abridgments, in which nothing but the skeleton of a dramatic poem is preserved; and the passages not rendered, were not those which displeased the translator, but such as he did not understand. Still these

essays, imperfect as they may be, are sufficient to prove the great talents of the Spaniards for the theatre, their fertile imagination, their art in forming and working up a plot, and producing interesting situations and unexpected discoveries. With all these advantages, they still want more natural dialogue to possess every essential to produce a good comedy. Authors who would enrich themselves with their works, must consult reason and their own national taste, to add to the pieces they may borrow this additional grace. They would not fail to retrench the long and tedious narratives, the cold dissertations, and the disgusting buffooneries of the *Gracioso*, which are displeasing even to such of the Spaniards as are familiar with the real beauties of foreign writers, and ancient and modern literature. They would also sacrifice those points, the play of words, the concetti, a tribute paid by every nation to false wit at the revival of letters, which several authors of the age of Louis XIV. such as Voiture, Balzac, and Moliere himself, did not escape, and to which the modern Spaniards are still subject. I have frequently remarked with astonishment, that they honoured with the appellation of ingenious thoughts, and applauded with a kind of ecstacy, many pleasantries which we, who from our levity seem to be less nice about any thing capable of exciting it, should place in the class of low witticism. When I observed to them that a play upon words was contrary to fine taste, that it should be abandoned to the populace, or confined to familiar conversation, in which, every thing is found agreeable provided it excites laughter, they obstinately maintained that in Spanish it had a subtilty which it was impossible for a stranger to perceive. It is true that even their serious works are so interlarded with these miserable quibbles, that there are some of them, which to me it seems impossible to translate. The Spaniards have no theatrical pieces in which they are not profusely bestowed; and the success they have

with the multitude proves their authors to be carried away by the corrupted taste of the nation: they have endeavoured to flatter it, and by the ascendancy of their authority have rendered it incurable. Such of our authors as should attempt to introduce some of these pieces to the French theatre, would have no great merit in retrenching such vain ornaments. I would recommend them to choose from those of Calderon. Most of the other Spanish comic poets recompense not, like him, their defects by the originality of their invention. Lopes de Vega, the Spanish author with whom strangers are most acquainted, and whom his countrymen, always emphatical in their eulogiums, extol as admirable in lyric poetry, eloquent in heroic, melodious in pastoral, grave in epic, and ingenious and fertile in dramatic, is still more extravagant in his plots than Calderon. However, he was better acquainted than any cotemporaries with the rules of the theatre. He has reconciled his countrymen to them. He perhaps would have had the honour of affecting a total revolution in their taste had he had the courage to join example to precept; but he preferred to this the momentary satisfaction of flattering their foibles. Posterity has passed judgment upon this culpable complaisance. Few of his pieces have come down to us, whilst those of Calderon, more original, elegant, and varied, with a greater justness in his characters, are still received with transport in the present age. After Calderon, Moreto holds a distinguished rank among the Spanish dramatists; but his plots are no less faulty, and his style still more corrupt than those of the former; and the buffooneries of his Graciosos, which constitute the chief merit of his pieces, would not be suffered on our theatre. Nearly the same observations are true of Zamora, who wrote towards the end of the last century. Cannizares, who began when Zamora was upon the decline, was successful in some pieces which are still well received, called by the Spaniards, "Comedias

defigurones;" a kind of caricature farce in the style of our "Monsieur de Pourceaugnac,"* but which can only be relished by spectators who are well acquainted with the originals they are meant to satirize. Such are "Domine Lucas," and the "Montanez en la Corte," of which the vulgar buffoonery and grotesque scenes would not succeed upon our theatre, if even a number of circumstances, which exclusively relate to the customs of the country, did not render them unintelligible.

The comedies which have appeared since these, are without merit in the eyes of the Spaniards themselves. This kind of literature has been left to the most ordinary writers, who, without genius, and servilely following their models, imitate their extravagance only, and seem to have nothing in view but to please the populace in flattering their inclination to the marvellous, lavishing romantic adventures, and gross witticisms, and having recourse to all the contemptible resources which so ill supply the want of real abilities. The men of letters, who may have talents proper for the drama, despairing to bring it among their countrymen to the rules of good taste, cultivate other branches of literature.

Some attempts have, however, been made by them, the success of which has proved that what is really excellent pleases in all countries. Several translations of the best French tragedies have been well received by the same public, which has been so much accustomed to the extravagance and buffoonery of the Spanish theatre. Poets, still living, have written some tragedies invented by themselves, and executed upon the models of those of the French stage, that is to say, freed from that irregularity of style, complication of incidents, and that mixture of vulgar and wretched buffoonery with the most pathetic scenes. Their works, however, have only excited

* A favourite French comedy by Moliere.

a cold admiration, and were soon obliged to give place to irregular productions, which now reign without a rival.

Of the modern pieces, "The destruction of Numantia," by Professor Ayala, a subject fit to elevate the mind of the Spaniards, has not disappointed the hopes of its author. This tragedy recals the most flattering recollections of national pride, and breathes patriotism in all its fervour. It still excites a lively enthusiasm on the stage. Another modern tragedy, the Raquel of the academician La Thuerta, a distinguished poet, who died but a few years ago, would have enjoyed the same triumph, if certain political reasons had not excluded this piece from the stage. It is well conceived, ably written, full of brilliant passages, and entirely conformable to the rules of art. Except that the winding up is bad, it would be esteemed in every country a work of the first order.

Two more modern authors, Cienfuegos, at present at the head of the foreign department, and M. Quintano, one of the principal men employed in the commercial council, have written with more or less success, the first three regular tragedies, *Idomenée*, the *Condesa de Castila*, and *Zoraido*; and the other two, *El Duque de Visco*, and *Pelayo*. Both have decided talents for poetry, as the collection of their works proves;* but they are thought to excel more in lyrics, than in the difficult art of writing tragedies. We shall pass over in silence some other less fortunate

* Messrs. Cienfuegos and Quintano are not the only writers who do honour to the Spanish Muses as poets. Besides the dramatic authors here mentioned, we may rank with them some poets who write in other departments. Such are Don Juan Melandez, Don Juan Baptista de Ariaza, M. de Norona, &c. The reader who wishes to acquire more particulars on the subject of Spanish literature may find much information in the "Archives Littéraires," Nos. XIX. and following.

attempts, which all concur to prove the tendency of Spanish genius to form itself on good models.

The same revolution has happened in the department of Thalia. What we call the "comédie noble" has been attempted on the Spanish stage. "Le Misantrope," for example, appeared there, and was well received. Some of their own authors have even ventured on comedies, in which spirit and good taste are united with beauty of style. Don Thomas Yriarte, known already by his literary fables, and his poem on music, though he has not excited a very lively interest, has made us smile at the representation of his two pretty comedies, "El Sonorito mimado" The Spoilt Child, and "La Senorita mal criada," The Girl ill brought up. M. Moratin the younger, son to the tragic writer, a poet of true talents, and whose travels to the principal cities of Europe have extended his knowledge and improved his taste, has written, in the first place, a comedy full of Attic salt, entitled "The Coffee-house," in which he successfully ridicules the pieces now in fashion, and their authors. Soon after, another comedy of his appeared of the higher cast, which approaches nearer the drama; this was "El Viejo y la Nina," The old man and the Girl. Although the invention did not keep pace with the style, it met with success: but M. Comella, another young dramatic poet, believing himself to be the object of one of the characters in M. Moratin's first play, revenged himself by parodying his second in a pretty gay comedy called "El Abuelo y la Nieta," The Grand-father and the Grand-Daughter: this drew the laugh of the day on his side; and the Spanish public for some time was amused by these petty literary rivalries, but did not fail to do justice to the superiority of M. Moratin, who has since enjoyed new dramatic successes, amongst others in a charming piece, which would be applauded everywhere, "La Mogigata," The female Hypocrite. M.

Comella, on his part, although with inferior talents, has gathered some laurels on the Spanish stage. His "Hombre agradecido," The grateful Man, was crowned with applause in 1804.

What we have here stated is sufficient to show that the modern Spaniards are attentive to the improvement of their stage, which has long been fruitful in works of genius, but defective in taste; that some of her authors have studied with success the best models, and that the public is become more capable of appreciating them. All their dramatic writers, however, do not equally concur in forwarding this reform. For some years past, M. Valadarez has been too well satisfied with the easy success he acquires in flattering the taste of the most numerous part of his audience by pieces full of brilliant machinery and show, where noise and stage trick made up all the interest, and which are more fit for a nation of children than for an enlightened one.

There are some modern pieces which have at least the merit of faithfully delineating characters. These are what the Spaniards call saynetes or entremes, which are little pieces in one act, as simple in their plots as those of great pieces are complicated. The manners and character of the inferior classes of society and the petty interests which associate or divide them, are therein represented in the most striking manner. It is not an imitation but the thing itself. The spectator seems to be suddenly transported into a circle of Spaniards, where he is present at their amusements and little cavillings. The manner of dress is so faithfully copied that he is sometimes disgusted. He sees porters, flower girls, and fish-women, who have all the gestures, manner, and language of those he has seen a hundred times in the street. For these kind of characters the Spanish comedians have an admirable talent. Were they equally natural in every other they would be the first actors in Europe. The composition of these little pieces, however, require no

great talents. It might be supposed the author was afraid of going too far, and only waited for an expedient to withdraw himself from his embarrassment. He opens the door of a private house, and presents, as by chance, some of the scenes which most commonly pass in it; and as soon as he thinks the spectator's curiosity satisfied, he shuts the door and the piece concludes.

The saynetes seem to have been invented to give relief to the attention of the audience fatigued by by following the intrigue of the great piece through its inextricable labyrinth. Their most certain effect is that of making you lose the clew; for it seldom happens that the real Spanish comedies are represented without interruption. They are composed of three acts, called Jornadas. After the first act comes the saynete, and the warrior or king, whom you have seen adorned with a helmet or a crown, has frequently a part in the little piece; and to spare himself the trouble of entirely changing his dress, sometimes preserves a part of his noble or royal garments. His sash or buskin still appears from beneath the dirty cloak of a man of the lowest class, or the robe of an alcalde. The stranger, who is ignorant of the odd custom of joining together objects so incongruous, imagines the hero who has so long occupied his imagination has assumed a disguise useful to his purpose; and seriously seeks for the connection between that scene and those preceding. When the saynete is finished, the principal piece is continued.

After the second act, there is a new interruption longer than the first; another saynete begins, and is succeeded by a species of comic opera, very short, and called tonadilla. A single actress frequently performs the whole, she relates, in singing, either an uninteresting adventure, or some trivial maxims of gallantry; if she be a favourite with the public, and her indecent manner satisfies the admirers of this insipid and sometimes scandalous representation, she

obtains the applause, which she never fails to solicit at the conclusion, and the third act of the great piece is permitted to begin. It may be imagined what becomes of illusion and interest after these interruptions, on which account, it is not uncommon to see, after the tonadilla is finished, the audience diminish and become reduced to the few who are unacquainted with the principal piece, or whose curiosity is strong enough to make them wait to see the unravelling. From what has been said, it may be judged that the Spaniards feel but few lively, strong, or contrived emotions, which in other countries are the delight of the lovers of the dramatic art. The saynetes and tonadillas are frequently in Spain what are most attractive in these strange medleys, and it must be confessed the auditor may be satisfied with them when he goes to the theatre to relax, and not agreeably to employ, his mind. After a short residence in Spain, it is easy to conceive the attraction which the saynetes and tonadillas may have for the people of the country. Manners, dress, adventures, and music, all are national; besides there are frequently presented in these little pieces two species of beings peculiar to Spain, and whose manners and expressions ought to be held in contempt; but which, on the contrary, are the objects of much mirth and pleasantry, and sometimes of imitation. These are the majos and the majas on the one part, and the guitanos and gitanas on the other.

The majos are beaux of the lower class, or rather bullies, whose grave and frigid pomposity is announced by their whole exterior. They have an accent, habit and gesture peculiar to themselves. Their countenance, half concealed under a brown stuff bonnet, called montera, bears the character of threatening severity, or of wrath, which seems to brave persons most proper to awe them into respect, and which is not softened even in the presence of their mistress. The officers of justice scarcely dare attack them.

The women, intimidated by their terrible aspect, seem to wait with resignation the soft caprice of these petty sultans. If they are provoked by any freedoms, a gesture of impatience, a menacing look, sometimes a long rapier or a poniard, concealed under their wide cloak, announce that they cannot permit familiarity with impunity. The majas, on their parts, rival these caprices as much as their feeble means will permit; they seem to make a study of effrontery. The licentiousness of their manners appears in their attitudes, actions, and expressions; and when lewdness in their persons is clothed with every wanton form, all the epithets which admiration can inspire are lavished upon them. This is the disagreeable side of the picture. But if the spectator goes with a disposition, not very scrupulous, to the representation in which the majas figure, when he becomes familiarized to manners very little conformable to the virtues of the sex, and the means of inspiring ours with favourable sentiments, he sees in each of them the most seducing priestess that ever presided at the altars of Venus. Their impudent affectation is no more than a poignant allurement, which introduces into the senses a delirium that the wisest can scarcely guard against, and which, if it inspire not love, at least promises much pleasure.

The most indulgent persons will, however, be displeased that the majos and majas are thus received upon the theatre, and preserve their allurements even in the circles of good company. In most countries the inferior classes think it an honour to ape their superiors; in Spain it is the contrary, in many respects. There are, among both sexes, persons of distinguished rank, who seek their models among the heroes of the populace, who imitate their dress, manners, and accent, and are flattered when it is said of them, he is very like a majo.—One would take her for a maja. This is, indeed renouncing the nobility of one of the

sexes, and the decency which constitutes the principal charm of the other.

The gitanos and gitanas, still more dangerous than the majos and majas, might be the objects of the same reflections. They are, in fact, a kind of gipsies who run about the country, lead a dissolute life, tell fortunes, exercise all kinds of suspicious professions, have among themselves a language, particular signs, and the appearance of dexterous knaves who prey upon the innocent. This class of vagabonds, of which society ought to be purged, has hitherto been tolerated; and characters are given to them upon the stage, amusing by their originality and their resemblance to the models of which they are the copies; but their effect renders vice familiar, by concealing its deformity under a gay exterior. They are, if I may so say, the shepherds of the Spanish stage, certainly less insipid, but at the same time less innocent than those of ours. Their tricks, plots, and amorous intrigues, suited to their manners, are the subjects of several saynetes and tonadillas, and probably serve as lessons to some of the spectators.

It appears to me that the Spaniards, more than other nations, have lost sight of the influence the theatre might have upon public morals. By confining the functions of Thalia to her motto, not perfectly applicable in my opinion (Castigat ridendor mores) they are reduced to the correcting of some ridiculous absurdities, by amusing and interesting a chosen part of the nation. Comedy, I think, might have a more useful and extended purpose; and notwithstanding the authority of our best pieces, and the censures of the critics, it inclines to this in France. If the aim of the comic muse should be, indeed, the improvement of morals, why does she not more frequently present us models of virtue, more within our reach and easier of imitation than those of our tragedies? If patriotism, the love of glory, heroic virtues, and philosophy, of an order superior to the ordinary classes, penetrate

our minds at the representation of one of our best tragedies, why should not they be softened, warmed, and improved by the affecting representation of virtues more frequently in use? and who would then dare to say, that comedy was not one of the most successful teachers of morality? Do not we too frequently see how successful vice borrows the mask of Thalia? Why should it not then be employed in the service of virtue? The Spaniards, our predecessors if not our masters, our guides if not our models, in the drama, have been less timid than we. They have, in their ancient comedies, powerful examples of every virtue which can be recommended to a people; loyalty, firmness, justice, and beneficence. Whatever may be said to the contrary, and notwithstanding the extravagance which serves as a canvas to the poet, and the exaggeration of the features of the picture he gives, people leave these representations more disposed to the exercise of those virtues, than they would be after the performance of the best pieces entirely comic, in which the poet confines himself to placing a well-drawn character in different situations, and whence lessons of a vicious tendency and malignity are rather learned than those of goodness. I compare not the talents necessary to excel in either kind of writing; I speak of their moral effect only, and am free to say, that in this point of view, it is to be regretted that governments take not more effectual means to recal comedy to the aid of virtue; whereas, on the contrary, they have suffered it to ridicule what ought to be held in the highest respect.

In their modern productions, equally irregular and immoral, the Spaniards have gone greater lengths than we have. Not only the most generally received propriety is sacrificed in them, but they contain a description of every kind of vice and debauchery, without exciting the horror they should inspire. The conspiracies of a son against a father, the brutality of husbands, the infidelity of wives, even the plot-

tings of malefactors who escape punishment, all are hazarded by the authors, suffered by the police, and well received by the public. The consequences of this tolerance are, however, important, particularly in Spain, where the theatre is frequented by every class of citizens, and may infect, with the venom distilled there, the higher as well as lower ranks of subjects. The populace seems to be the principal object the authors and actors have in view; and the greater number of frequenters of the theatres are of that description. Their fancies must be pleased, and their perverse taste flattered; and the tumultuous manner in which they express their coarse sensations entirely drowns the less noisy approbation of the more enlightened part of the audience; perhaps the only example of the kind in a government of the nature of those in which the common people are but little considered, and fashioned to the yoke of a power which may almost be styled arbitrary.

One would be led to suppose a theatre, under so little restraint, must prevent persons, who by their age and professions are more particularly obliged to preserve an appearance of decency, from frequenting it; for which reason a stranger is not a little astonished to see at these representations, in which modesty and morality are so often insulted, not only young persons of exterior modesty, but ecclesiastics, whose grave countenance and dress, austere in its simplicity, might be expected to impose an awe upon licentiousness. A wise pagan formerly left the theatre of Rome for fear of authorizing, by his presence, the disorders there described in colours at which his virtue was offended. Spanish priests, intolerant in the most trifling objects, are not so scrupulous. If their virtue be above scandal, ought not they to fear the effect of an example, which, in a country where they have so much influence, must become authority? But each country has its customs and incoherencies. In other nations ecclesiastics never appear in profane

theatres, and yet in other places permit themselves the greatest irregularities.

To reform the Spanish theatre, a concurrence of circumstances, which are still wanting to that part of administration, would be necessary. The sovereign who, in this respect, as well as in many others, might have the greatest influence, is totally indifferent about theatrical amusements. This was the case in the time of Charles III. as well as in that of his successor. The theatre of Saragossa having been burned about twenty-five years ago, the director of the king's conscience, who seemingly had forgotten that fire from heaven had destroyed more than one temple, wished to represent that accident as a proof of divine wrath. The inhabitants at Saragossa strove to appease the anger of heaven, by banishing from their city all profane spectacles. Had the king's confessor been listened to, the same sentence would have been pronounced against all that were in the kingdom. The good sense of the king protected them against the blind zeal of the director: he thought it sufficient to have those of Buen Retiro and his other palaces shut up; but continued to tolerate the rest: this was all his goodness permitted him to do. The particular management of these amusements escaped his observation.

At Madrid, the police of the theatre is divided between the corregidor, the city magistracy, and the alcaldes de corte; but the limits of their jurisdiction are ill defined; and from this uncertain authority result the disorders which every one sees, and nobody has the power of suppressing. The pieces, the admission of which is accompanied many difficulties and formalities, escape from a similar reason the animadversion of their examiners.

Before they are permitted to be performed, they have to pass through the hands of three or four censors. It might be supposed that this excess of precaution would banish from these compositions every

thing which can offend religion or decency. Each censor confides in the care and attention of his associate. A superficial examination does not permit them either to foresee the scandal which several expressions, sometimes unintelligible to them, may produce; or that which may result from certain scenes with the theatrical effect of which they are unacquainted; and the sensible part of the audience is astonished at seeing, after so many precautions, the stage disgraced by immoral pieces, at which decency and taste are equally shocked. The censors, besides, are frequently infected with the general contagion; they fear but little the consequences of an abuse, the effects of which are slow and unperceived by those who consider only the present moment. Courage would be necessary to take suddenly from the people the favourite objects of their affection, and not to yield to the representations of the comedians, whose receipts would suffer some diminution, about which scruples might arise. Reformation is thus retarded by weakness, excess of caution, and because no person sufficiently concerns himself in the matter, to withstand the clamours of the actors and the populace.

There were in the late reign, however, examples of bold reforms, which cannot be too soon repeated to complete the polishing of the Spanish nation. Government has entirely abolished the autos sacramentales, in which angels, saints, and virtues personified, were exhibited, to the scandal of religion and common sense; ridiculous pieces, in which Caldron had displayed all the extravagance of his imagination. The representation of several other pieces is also suppressed. These were in the class of ordinary comedies, and contained scenes not less scandalous in throwing ridicule upon religion; such were Los Zelos de San Josef, La Princesa Ramera, Virgin y Martyr, &c. Dramas, in which the simplicity of an earlier age, no doubt, found edification, while the progress of know-

ledge and modern depravity finds in them nothing but impiety or indecency. While I was at Madrid, about twenty-three years ago, this prohibition was extended to other compositions of the same kind, which had been protected, no body knows how, until the present age. These were Cain de Catalunna, in which the enmity between two brothers, and the murder of the youngest, were described in the manner and expressions found in the Bible, in the history of the Death of Abel; and El Diablo Predicador (the Devil turned Preacher), a comedy, which I saw several times represented, and of which the author of Essays upon Spain has given a good abstract. The Devil, condemned by the Almighty to take the frock in a convent of Franciscans, preaches there charity, performs miracles, torments the monks by his severity, frightens them by his sudden appearance when they imagine him at a great distance, and produces scenes really comic, to which nothing but another mode of introducing them could have been desired.

Besides the correction of the moral defect of the theatre, another revolution in the mechanical part remains to be effected. This was begun in the late reign, by the attention of some persons of understanding. The decorations are better understood, and the dresses more in character than formerly. The Spanish theatre had weaker beginnings than ours, and, in some places, preserves the forms of its infancy. Two parallel curtains, facing the spectators, composed the whole mechanism of the theatre, and this simplicity was still found in some theatres which I entered in Spain. The prompter, for want of a proper situation, and finding no room between the side-scenes, stands behind the second curtain, his candle in one hand and the book in the other, and runs across the stage to assist the actor who is in want of his aid. This by the transparency of the curtain, is seen by all the spectators, and adds to their amusement. But in well-contrived theatres, as those of Madrid, and other

great cities, the side-scenes, green-room, changes of decoration, and place of the prompter, resemble our own. A stranger is, however, surprized to hear the prompter recite all the parts almost as loud as the actors, and is tempted to request the latter to be silent, to let him, who so well supplies the places of them all, speak alone.

The Spanish theatres are divided into five parts; the aposentos, or two ranges of boxes, of which the upper part of the edifice consists. The cazuela, a kind of amphitheatre at the bottom, in which none but women, covered with their veils, are admitted, and who might be taken for a company of nuns, were it possible for the mind to be so absent as to confound things sacred with profane. Las gradas, another amphitheatre under the boxes on each side of the theatre, and where persons who love to be at their ease are placed. The patio, which answers to the parterre or pit, but for the most part contains the meanest of the people, who display their vulgarity, ignorance, and rags. The luneta which corresponds with the French parquet,* and receives much the same company. The actors often apostrophize these five classes of spectators, under the name of Mosqueteros, and lavish upon them all the insipid epithets which they think likely to gain their suffrages. These flatterers are not spared upon the patio, which is always noisy, and as difficult as if it had a right to be so. When we observe the attention the comedians pay to this part of the audience, we cannot but recollect the Indians worshipping the Devil, or the honey cake thrown by the Sibyl into the jaws of Cerberus.

These insipid homages are rendered after every piece to the audience in general, and are degrading to the comedians, who are not treated with less rigour, when they have the misfortune to displease the public.

* An inclosed place between the pit and the orchestra in the French theatre.

At Madrid they are divided into two theatres, that of de la Cruz, and that of Du Principe, who are joined in one interest, but separated by vanity.* The partizans of the former are distinguished by the epithet of Polacas (Polish) and those of the latter by that of Chorizos (Sausages) odd names, the etymology of which is a matter of no importance, but which serve to rally the spirit of party, and are motives of emulation to the actors of the two theatres, much less to improve their talents than to increase their audience, and consequently their revenues. Each theatre has for manager one of the comedians, who every year, at the approach of Easter, dissolves and recomposes his company according to his fancy. Those whose talents are approved of by the public, then treat with both managers, and engage with him who has most cunning or generosity. It may be supposed the Graciosos are not forgotton in this periodical arrangement.

Of these there are two principal ones at Madrid, who, excepting a little exaggeration, would be well received as valets upon every other theatre. The two managers agree to take each of them one, as well as to divide the principal actors, lest there should be in their companies too great an inequality, by which they would both suffer. Beside these, they have each of them performers of both sexes, whose talents are much esteemed by the public; but they are of a nature more proper for parade, than for the real theatre of Thalia. All those who study nature, who add cheerfulness to the graces, the force of sentiment to nobleness of expression, and render the art of declamation the sister and rival of the fine arts, are little

* This last house wanting repairs, the company was lately removed to another theatre called Canos del Peral, which till then was little used, unless for concerts given by the amateurs, or other public entertainments, and where for some time the Italian opera had been performed.

known in Spain. The comedians of that kingdom are confined to the servile imitation of the models before their eyes, in their dress, manners, and inflections of voice. They know not how to create imaginary but yet possible characters, and represent princes as haughty without being boisterous, or lovers as impassioned without losing sight of decency; in which, declamation costs not the lungs continual and monotonous efforts, but is varied according to the affections of the mind, in which gestures, modified by the same causes, are varied and expressive, without being less noble or true, and nature embellished without being disguised. Instead of effecting this, upon which the improvement of the art depends, the Spanish comedians, once removed from objects within their reach, forget every rule, exaggerate and disfigure every thing, and instead of economizing their strength to obtain an end, exhaust themselves in going beyond it. Their angry women become furies, their heroes braggadocios, their conspirators vile malefactors, and their tyrants mere butchers. If they have something gallant to say, their manner and tone of voice are most insipid. They roar instead of sobbing; their sighs fatigue and sometimes terrify the audience, but are never moving. Scenes which might be pathetic, either become uninteresting or excite laughter. The gestures are well suited to the declamation. Most of them are forced and improper, and all are confined within a narrow circle. Invented by folly, they are consecrated by custom, from which no actors dare to depart. They are undoubtedly far different from those of Clairon, Le Kain, Garrick, and other actors and actresses of the last century, who might be mentioned. For which reasons, comedians in Spain, notwithstanding the indulgence with which prejudice and even religion treat their profession, are considered as mercenaries, admitted into society as jugglers who amuse for a moment, and are sent away after being paid; whilst, in other countries, where civil and reli-

gious prejudices are more unfavourable to them, the just admiration they inspire raises them to the level of great artists, and almost to that of men of genius. This proves public opinion not to be always inflexible in its decisions, and that this tyrant which reigns over every thing, is, in turn, subjected by a certain degree of success.

Since the death of Ferdinand IV. whose splendid court had an Italian theatre which rivalled the first of those in Italy, there has been no theatre in Spain but a national one. The marquis de Grimaldi, at the decease of Charles III. re-established a similar representation, which disappeared again when he retired. Towards the end of his reign, this prince had one established in his capital. The principal hospitals there at first defrayed the expenses and enjoyed the profits; but this establishment becoming burthensome to them, they gave it up to the direction of proprietors, most of them grandees of Spain, who could only continue it for a few years by making considerable sacrifices; and it was at last abandoned. Both serious and comic operas were performed; the decorations were superb and the dresses magnificent: the ballets were very good. The Spanish actors have had these models, and it appeared they approved of them; but notwithstanding, the representations of their pieces have gained nothing. They are therefore incurable.

As to French theatres, they have been for a long time entirely banished from Spain. The French dramatic pieces, said they, are filled with maxims of toleration; they breathe too much modern philosophy. They enumerate thirteen heretical assertions in the single piece of Pygmalion. The general hospital also, a part of the revenues of which arise from the contributions of the two Spanish theatres, expressed its fears least its receipt should be diminished. The monarch yielded to this double claim of scruple and charity; and the Thalia of France, who already saw

the doors of the Spanish theatre open to receive her, was thrust from them. Translations of some of our pieces have, however, since appeared.

Amongst the entertainments that belong almost exclusively to the Spanish nation, must be placed a spectacle for which it has still an unbounded attachment, though it be repugnant to the ideas of the rest of Europe; I mean the bull-fights.*

Many of the Spaniards still see in these combats one means of cherishing the energy which characterizes their nation. One might however ask them, what connexion there is between strength and courage, and an exhibition where the spectators run not the least danger, and where the actors prove, by the rarity of accident, that theirs is not sufficient to excite a great interest. I know that the exaggeration with which they are commonly related, represents these accidents as rather frequent. The horsemen, indeed, when overthrown, receive sometimes considerable bruises; but during nine years that I have frequented bull-fights, I have only known one *torreador* who died of his wounds. However, at all events, a priest with the holy oil is present, in a latticed box; and if the accidents were as frequent as they are rare, they would only familiarize the spectators with effusion of blood, and with the suf-

* In 1805 they were prohibited, not without exciting the regret of that part of the nation, which, although the most numerous, is so easy to govern, when the empire of its habits or its caprices is opposed with firmness. This spirited reform does honour to the reign of Charles IV. and proves the wisdom of his prime minister. Every thing will gain by it; industry, agriculture, and morals. We shall notwithstanding leave our description of them as they existed before. It may perhaps satisfy the curiosity of those who never saw them, and probably never will see them. To those who regret them, our account will perhaps have the same kind of value which we affix to the portraits of deceased friends.

ferings of their fellow-creatures, but would not teach them how to submit to pain and face danger; they might make them hard-hearted and cruel, but not firm and courageous.

Another proof that this spectacle does not influence the morals of those who frequent it is, that young ladies, old men, people of all ages and of all characters, are present, and yet the habit of attending these sanguinary festivals, does not correct their weakness or their timidity, nor injure the sweetness of their manners. I have even known foreigners distinguished by the gentleness of their manners, who experienced on first seeing a bull-fight such very violent emotions as made them turn pale, and become ill; but notwithstanding, this entertainment became afterwards an irresistible attraction, without affecting any revolution in their character.

These diversions are very expensive, but very profitable to the undertakers. The price of the lowest places is two, or four reals, according as they are exposed to the sun or in the shade. The highest price is a great piastre. After the value of the horses and bulls, and the salary of the *torreadors* have been deducted from the money received, the remainder is commonly dedicated to pious uses; at Madrid it forms the fund for the support of the hospital.

Bull-fights are mostly given in summer, because in this season spectators may remain in the open air, and the animals are more vigorous. Privileged breeds are condemned to this species of sacrifice. As soon as the bull appears in the circle, all the connoisseurs name the breed he is of. There are twenty benches round the circle, and that only which is most elevated is covered. The boxes are in the upper part of the edifice. In some cities, as at Valladolid, where there is no particular place set apart for the combat, the principal square is converted into a theatre for the purpose. The balconies of the different stories are continued across the ends of the streets which

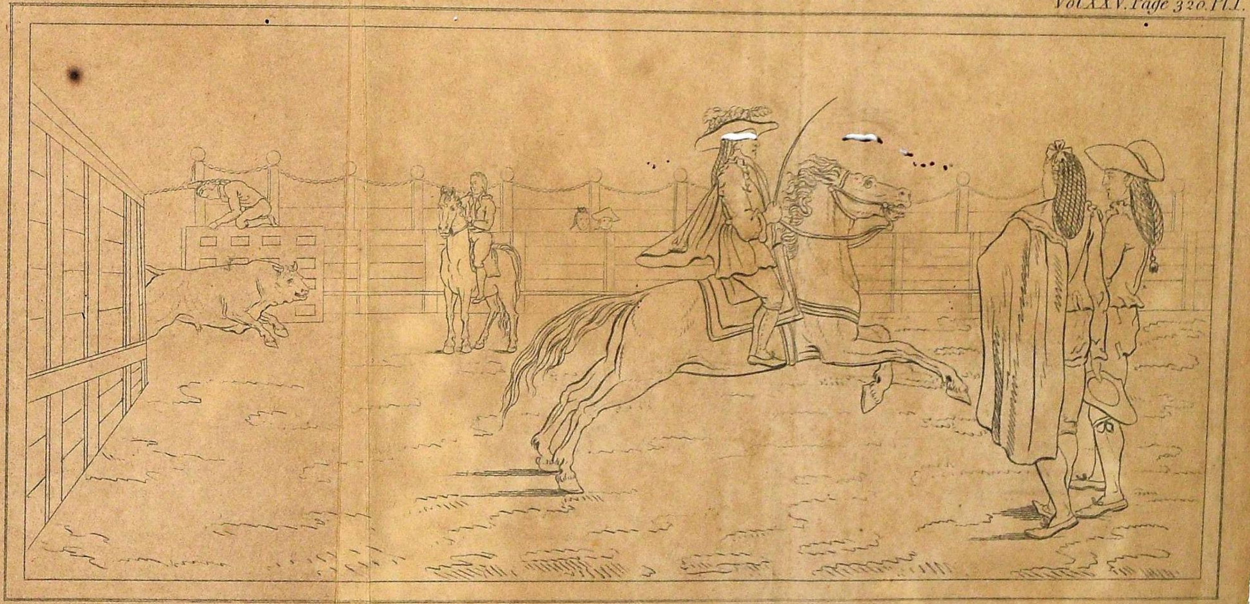
there terminate: the sight of the people of every class assembled round the square, expecting the signal for battle, and exhibiting in their countenances every sign of joy and impatience, has in it something interesting if not pleasing.

The exhibition begins by a kind of procession round the square, in which the champions, as well on foot as on horseback, who are to attack the fierce animal, make their appearance; after these come two alguazils on horseback, gravely advancing, in wigs and black robes, who go to the president of the combat (the governor or the corregidor) for an order to begin. The signal is immediately given. The animal, until then shut up in a kind of cabin, the door of which opens into the circle, makes his appearance. The agents of Themis, who have no quarrel with him, prudently hasten their retreat, and their fear, but ill seconded by their horses, is the prelude to the cruel pleasure which the spectators are about to enjoy.

The bull is received and stunned with their cries and expressions of joy. He has first to combat with the horsemen, *picadores*, who, clothed after the ancient manner of the Spaniards, and as it were fastened down upon their saddles, wait for him, armed with long lances. This exercise, which requires address, strength, and courage, has nothing in it degrading. Formerly, the greatest among the nobility disdained not to take a part in it; at present, even some hidalgos solicit the honour of combating on horseback, and upon occasion, are previously presented to the people under the auspices of a patron, who is commonly one of the principal persons of the court.

The picadores, whoever they may be, open the scene. The bull, without being provoked, frequently attacks them, from which circumstance, when it happens, all the spectators conceive a great opinion of his courage. If, notwithstanding the pointed steel which repels his attack, he again returns to the

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BULL FIGHTS.



Cooper sculp.

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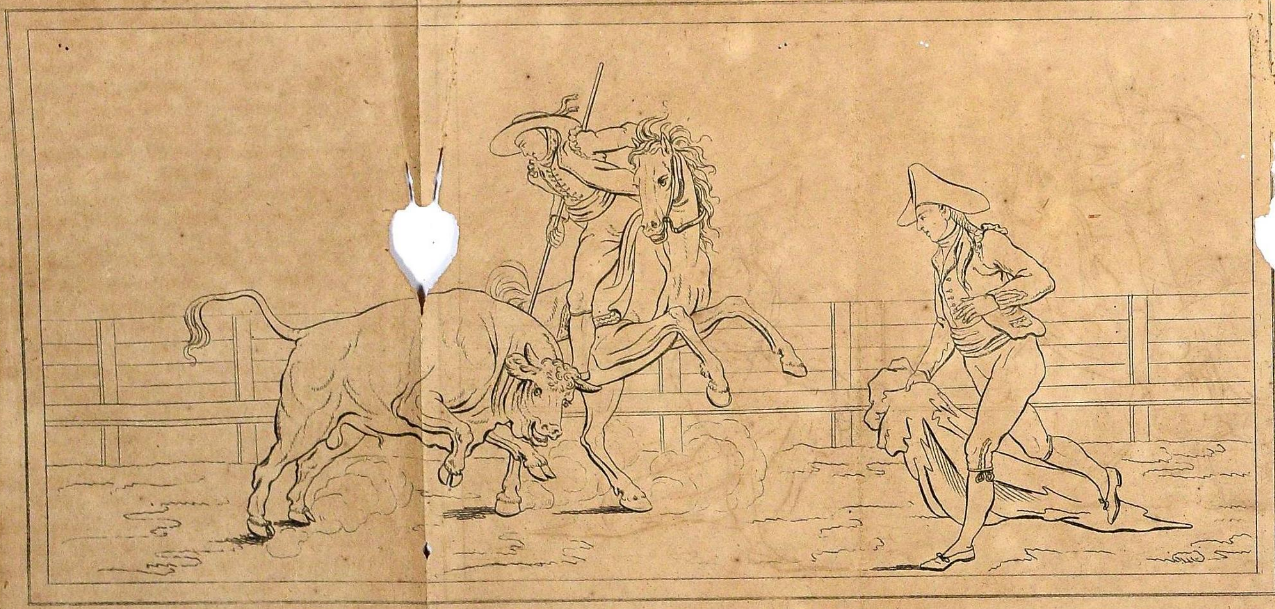


cha[illegible], the cries are redoubled, pleasure then becom[illegible] enthusiasm: but if the animal be pacific, disconcerted, and cowardly, runs round the circ[illegible] avoiding his persecutors, murmurs and hissing[illegible] resound throughout the theatre. All those wi[illegible]in whose reach he passes, load him with bl[illegible]s and execrations. It seems as if he were a co[illegible]mon enemy who has a great crime to expiate, o[illegible] a victim whose sacrifice is of consequence to all t[illegible] people. If nothing can rouse his courage, he is j[illegible]dged unworthy of being tormented by men, and the [illegible]peated cries of *perros, perros,* bringing on him new [illegible]emies.

Great dogs are then let loose upon him, who seize [illegible] by the neck and ears. The animal now finds the use [illegible] his natural weapons. The dogs, thrown into the air, [illegible]ll stunned, and sometimes lacerated, upon the ground; they rise again, renew the combat, and commonly end by overthrowing their adversary, who then perishes ignobly. On the contrary, if he has presented himself with a good grace, his career is more glorious, but longer and more painful. The first act of the tragedy belongs to the combatants on horseback: this is the most animated but the most bloody and disgusting part of the whole. The irritated animal braves the steel which makes deep [illegible]unds in his neck, falls furiously upon the innocent horse who carries his enemy, gores his sides, and overturns him with his rider.

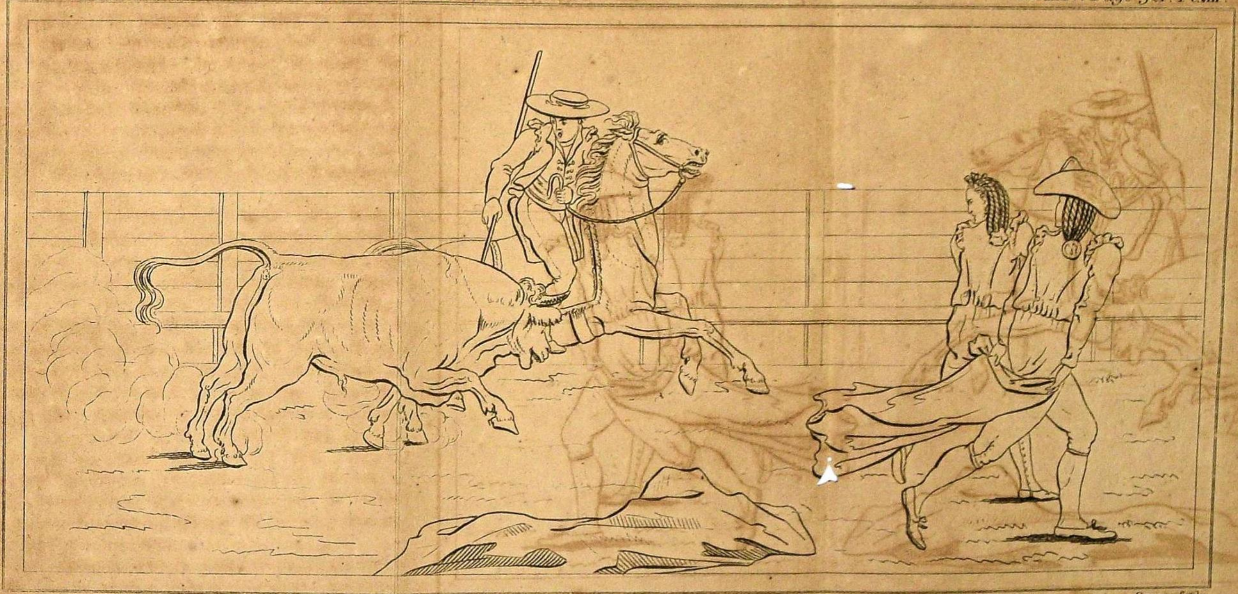
In this case, the latter, upon the ground and disarmed, is in imminent danger, until the combatants on foot, called *chutos,* come to his assistance, and provoke the animal, by shaking before him stuffs of different colours.

But it is not without danger to themselves that they save the dismounted horseman. The bull sometimes pursues them, and they then have need of their utmost agility. They frequently escape him by letting fall the stuff, which is their only weapon, and

upon which the fury of the deceived animal is exhausted. But it sometimes happens that he is not thus to be imposed upon, and the champion has no other resource than leaping over the barrier six feet high, which forms the interior of the circle. In some places there are two barriers, and the intermediate space forms a kind of circular gallery, behind which the pursued torreador is in safety. But when the barrier is single, the bull makes efforts to leap it, which he sometimes accomplishes. The alarm of the nearest spectators may easily be imagined; their precipitation in retiring, and crowding upon the upper benches, becomes more fatal to them than the fury of the animal, which stumbling at each step upon the narrow and uneven space, rather thinks of saving himself than satisfying his vengeance; and besides, soon falls under the blows that are hastily and repeatedly given him.

Except in these cases, which are rare, he returns to the charge. His dismounted adversary having had time to recover himself, immediately mounts his horse again, provided the latter be not too much wounded, and the attack is renewed; but the cavalier is frequently obliged to change his horse. I have seen seven and eight horses gored, or their bowels torn out, by the same bull, fall dead upon the field of battle. No words can then sufficiently celebrate these acts of prowess which for several days become the favourite subjects of conversation. The horses, astonishing examples of patience, courage, and docility, present, before they die, a sight at which I shall willingly permit my gay countrymen to shudder. They tread under their feet their bloody entrails which fall from their lacerated sides, and for some time obey the hand which leads them on to new torments. Disgust then seizes such of the spectators as possess any sensibility, and embitters their pleasure.

But a new act soon reconciles them to the diver-



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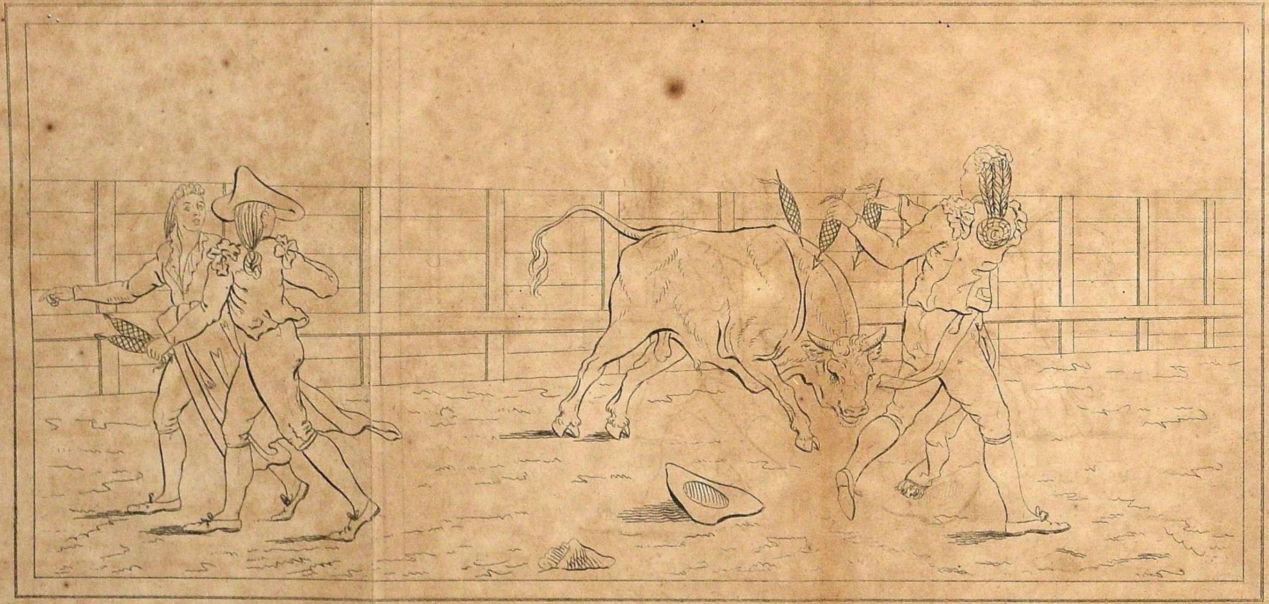

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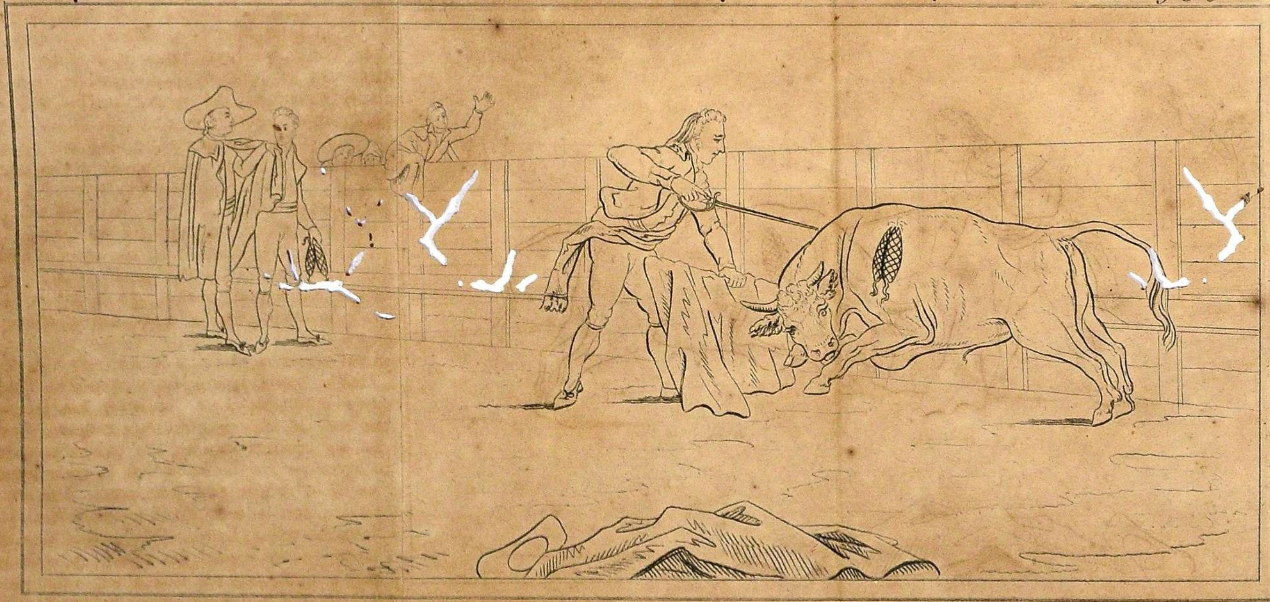


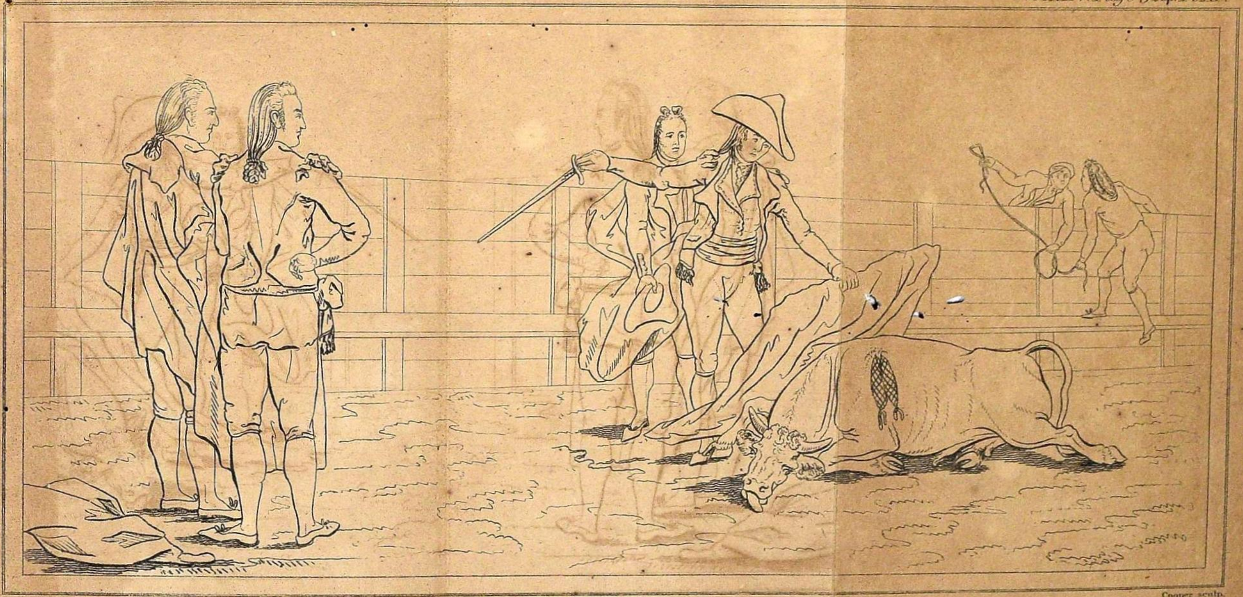
sion. When it is judged that the bull has been sufficiently tormented by the combatants on horseback, these withdraw, and leave him to the champions on foot, called *banderilleros*; who meet the animal, and the moment he attacks them, stick into his neck, two by two, a kind of arrow, called a *banderilla*, terminated like a fish-hook, and ornamented with little streamers of stained paper. The fury of the bull is redoubled; he roars, and his vain efforts render more acute the dart which has been lodged in him. This last torment gives a fine opportunity for a display of the agility of his new adversaries. The spectators at first tremble for their safety when they see them brave the terrible horns of the animal; but their skilful hands give the blow so surely, and they escape so nimbly from the danger, that after a few times they are neither pitied nor admired; and their address appears nothing more than a trifling episode in the tragedy, of which the catastrophe is as follows.

When the vigour of the bull appears almost exhausted, and his blood, flowing from twenty wounds, and pouring from his neck, moistens his robust sides, the fury of the people, thus satiated upon him, calls for another victim; the president then gives the signal for his death, which is announced by the sound of drums and trumpets. The *matador* advances, and is seen alone in the circle In one hand he holds a long knife, in the other a kind of flag which he waves before his adversary. Thus together they stop and observe each other. The impetuosity of the bull is several times avoided by the agility of the matador, and the pleasure of the spectators is rendered more lively by their suspense. Sometimes the animal remains immoveable; he scrapes the ground with his feet and seems to meditate vengeance.

The bull in this situation, and the matador who discovers his intention, and carefully observes his slightest motion, form a picture, which an able

pencil might not disdain to delineate. The silence of the assembly respects this dumb scene. At length the matador gives the fatal blow; and if the animal immediately falls, the triumph of the conqueror is celebrated by a thousand exclamations; but if the blow be not decisive, if the bull survives, and again strives to brave the fatal knife, the murmurs are not less numerous. The matador whose address was about to be extolled to the skies, is considered only as a clumsy butcher. He instantly endeavours to recover from his disgrace, and disarm the severity of his judges. His zeal some-sometimes becomes a blind fury, and his partizans tremble for the consequences of his imprudence. At last he gives a better directed blow. The animal vomits streams of blood, and struggling with death, staggers and falls, while his conqueror becomes intoxicated with the applauses of the people. The bull is then tied by the horns which have betrayed his valour; and although so lately furious and haughty, is ignominiously dragged from the circle he has just honoured, by three mules, ornamented with streamers, leaving nothing behind but the traces of his blood, and the remembrance of his exploits, which is soon effaced by the appearance of his successor.

On each of the days dedicated to these feasts are sacrificed (at least at Madrid), six bulls in the morning and twelve in the afternoon. The names of the combatants of each are previously announced in the public prints. The three last of the animals are exclusively left to the matador, who, without the assistance of the picadores, employs all his dexterity to vary the pleasures of the spectators. He sometimes suffers an intrepid stranger, mounted upon another bull, to combat them; at others he turns a bear against them. The last bull is particularly devoted to the entertainment of the populace. The points of his horns are covered with a round case, which diminishes the effect of their strokes.



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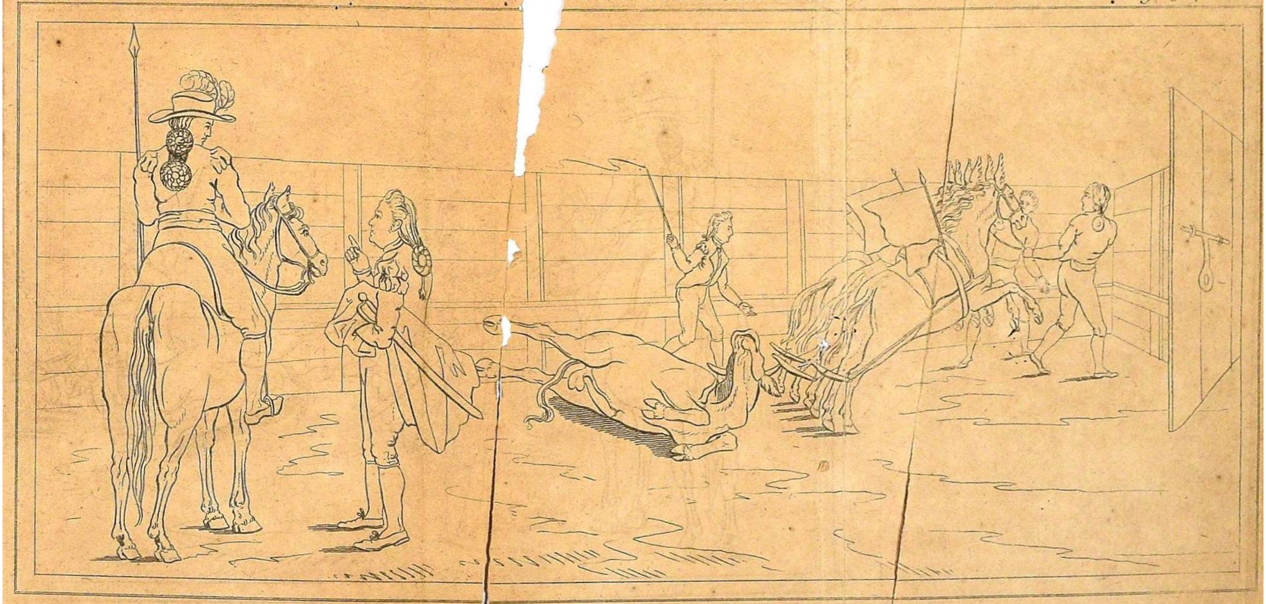


In this state the bull, which is then called *Embolado*, loses the power of piercing and lacerating his adversary. The spectators descend in crowds to torment him, each according to his own manner, and often expiate their cruel pleasure by violent contusions. But the creature always falls at last under the blows of the matador. The few spectators who partake not of the general fury, regret that these wretched animals purchase not their lives, at least, at the expense of so many tortures and efforts of courage. They would willingly aid them to escape from their persecutors. In the humane few, disgust succeeds to compassion, and weariness to dis[illegible] the uniform succession of similar scenes [illegible] a languor upon the amusement which the s[illegible]le promised at the beginning.

After this impartial view of the customs, the pleasures, and the resources of the capital, it will easily be perceived, that when a foreigner has acquired the language, which is not difficult, if he wish to introduce himself in the Spanish circles, which are very accessible—when he is familiarized with the manners of the country, which have their singularities, but are in no way disgusting; or if he have nothing to solicit at Madrid but the good graces of some amiable Spanish lady, he may pass his time as agreeably in this capital as in any other place in Europe.

As the attention of the reader will now be drawn towards the south of Spain, I shall previously introduce him to some of the most remarkable places in the vicinity of the capital, which from motives of curiosity, I had been induced to visit. I shall begin with Toledo, a city of some celebrity, which was once the residence of the Moorish kings, and is now the seat of the primate of all Spain. It is situated upon the right bank of the Tagus, twelve leagues from Madrid, and seven from Aranjuez. Proceeding from Madrid, the principal places we meet with

are Getafe and Illescas, two large towns, the environs of which are noted for the excellence of their cultivation, and the extreme fertility of the soil. Yet, here, and indeed generally throughout the kingdom of Castile, few or no trees are however to be seen.

The road to Toledo by Aranjuez lies through a much more picturesque country. Beyond this royal residence, the valley in which it is situated becomes broader. The course of the Tagus, which by turns approaches and recedes from us, presents some striking prospects; but in this district its banks are high, and covered with roc[illegible]nd the stream, which flows so smoothly, when ap[illegible]ing Toledo, and under its mouldering walls, [illegible]olls with the blustering rapidity of a torrent.

To enter the city of Toledo, the traveller must cross the Tagus by a bridge of an almost terrific height.

Narrow and winding streets, whose scanty inhabitants are destitute alike of affluence or industry, but ill agree with the idea we should form of this city, which has been honoured with the title of Imperial, since the period when Alphonso VI. retook it from the Moors; a city which disputes pre-eminence with Burgos, in the cortes of the kingdom of Castile; which has long been considered as the capital, and which contains a variety of monuments to attest its ancient splendour. However, Madrid, which has for some years increased its population at the expense of the neighbouring cities, contributed much to the depopulation of Toledo. The appearance of its ruinous buildings gives it an air of misery, which is, nevertheless, relieved in some measure by the interior of the houses; where every thing is neat and clean, qualities but rarely allied to poverty. The inhabitants of Toledo spare no pains to defend the entrances of their houses from the rays of the sun, and to obtain the coolness of the shade even

in the heat of the dog-days. On entering their apartments in the hottest season, we think ourselves transported to the palace of Morpheus. With them the sun appears to set at three o'clock; the window-blinds are hermetically closed; the floors are moistened with frequent sprinklings of water; large sheets of canvas are extended above their courts; every thing, in short, conspires to produce an illusion, both as to the heat of the climate and the hour of the day.

Such precautions are indeed common to almost all the cities in Spain at that season of the year; but no-where did they appear to me so remarkable as at Toledo. Indeed the industry of the inhabitants was nearly confined to the invention of these requisites of effeminacy. Within these few years, however, they have been roused from that perpetual listlessness to which they seemed condemned. Cardinal Lorenzana, who was their archbishop for upwards of twenty years, brought them to a sense of their duty, which produced the most beneficial effects. The Alcazar of Toledo, the ancient residence of the Gothic kings, had been nearly rebuilt under Charles V. but by the damage it sustained in the conflagration, at the commencement of the last century, it was in a ruinous condition. The archbishop raised it from its ashes. He established silk looms which afford employment to more than 700 people, and built an hospital for indigent women and old men. He collected two hundred children of the inhabitants, whom he caused to be educated, and for whom he had a drawing-school; but his charity was particularly conspicuous in favour of the unfortunate French clergy, who were compelled to seek an asylum in his diocese. Not one of these unfortunate exiles ever implored his assistance in vain!

Madrid and Aranjuez, being situated in the diocese of Toledo, the cardinal archbishop of this city appeared frequently at court, even before his presence

in the capital became necessary by his appointment to the office of grand inquisitor. Madrid is however, as formerly, the residence of his grand vicar, who in his absence, performs the duty of the episcopal functions there. Towards the termination of my first residence in Spain, I had some intercourse with this worthy representative of the prelate Lorenzana, and I shall notice the result, because it will tend to prove that fanaticism and intolerance are not so incurable in Spain as has been generally believed; and that, in modern times, there are even among the clergy of this kingdom, individuals who are accessible to reason, and who can feel for the weaknesses of human nature.

A resident for a foreign power, attached by the laws of his country to the protestant religion, was captivated by the charms of an amiable Castilian beauty. An obstacle which could not easily be surmounted, opposed their union, namely, the invincible repugnance of the family, which was catholic, to a heretic son-in-law. The father came to Madrid to rescue his daughter from the dangers to which he thought her exposed, and forced her in tears thirty leagues from Madrid. The lover followed him, threw himself at his feet, and in vain implored him to relent; he remained unshaken in his resolution. "I cannot," said the father, "unite my daughter to a family which is the enemy of God and of my religion; turn from the errors of yours, and you shall be my son-in-law. The young heretic asked permission to plead his cause at least before the tribunal of the church, which he hoped to find less inexorable than the young lady's father. The austere Castilian applauded the expedient, satisfied in his own mind that it could not ultimately succeed. The gentleman animated by hope, then returned to Madrid. He waited upon the grand vicar of the archbishop of Toledo, addressed him in an animated and rational speech: represented that the honourable employment which he filled was the only means of his

subsistence: and that it would be incompatible with a change of his religion; and finally prayed, that the prelate would sanction his union with the lady.

His arguments softened the austerity of the grand vicar, "I must be convinced," said he, "in the first place that you are free. How can you furnish me with a proof of this? I could wish in the next place, to have proof that in your country, the protestant religion is so exclusive, that no person who does not profess it, can hold any public situation. Lastly, I desire that it may be certified to me, that you are not strongly prejudiced against the catholic church; that you demand time only, in order that the influence of your future consort, and the instructions of the ministers of our religion, may bring about your conversion."

On this, the young foreigner fancied himself secure of success. "It will not be difficult," replied he, "to give you these three assurances, if you will but point out the mode of communication which will be satisfactory to you." "Let it be two public men," said the vicar, "who possess your confidence, and who are worthy of mine." He named the ambassadors of France and of the United States, who were agreed to. We were consequently invited to visit the grand vicar, who received us separately. He proposed the three questions to us; to each of which we answered in the affirmative. We signed this as a sort of public document, and the scruples of the grand vicar were removed, as were those of the archbishop and of the orthodox family. The two lovers were united at the catholic altar, without either being obliged to abjure their creed. They were faithful to their vows, as well as to the religion of their fathers; and their time was more occupied in mutual endearments, than in useless attempts at each other's conversion. If these lines should ever fall under the perusal of any of the personages in this

short history; at the recital of the alarms, the dangers, and the success obtained by love over intolerance through the medium of friendship, perhaps a tear may glisten in the eye of a lover, a father, or a friend!

The worthy archbishop of Toledo and his clergy have adopted the same system of conduct for these twenty years. They exhibited on this occasion the first instance of toleration, as connected with matrimony, which had ever been given in Spain; and soon afterwards another couple, precisely in the same situation, urged the same precedent, and had their plea allowed.

In other cases, which occur more frequently than those which have been mentioned, the interference of the grand vicar is implored in a way not very edifying to morality. I mean the formality known in the country by the words *sacar por el vicario*; literally, to be married by the vicar. Every girl who has obtained the age of twelve, may compel a young man to marry her, provided he has reached his fourteenth year, if she can prove that he has anticipated the privileges of a husband with her, that he has promised her his hand, or even given her to understand in any way that he wished her to become his wife. These proofs are adduced before the ecclesiastical vicar. If the woman affirm that the young man has been intimate with her, and the latter admits the fact, he must not refuse to marry her. If he denies the charge, the woman is bound to substantiate it by proof; and for this purpose it is enough that some neighbours attest that they have seen them together at unseasonable hours. A ring, a trinket, a present, but above all, a love letter, in which the word marriage is not even mentioned, is considered as sufficient proof to enable a girl to make good her claim to the husband.

It is difficult to say in what spirit such laws were enacted. Was it meant that one sex should be put

on its guard against the seduction of the other, even at the tenderest age? Or do these legislators wish it to be understood, that encouragement must be given to marriage, even at the risk of forming many an unhappy union? Be this as it may, no sooner does the complainant apply to the vicar, than he orders the defendant immediately into prison, where he remains till the cause is decided. If the vicar pronounce that the marriage ought to take place, the prisoner does not obtain his liberty until after its celebration. The desire of recovering his liberty for the moment, frequently determines him to sacrifice it for life; but it may easily be imagined, that a yoke thus imposed does not long sit easy upon him who has been constrained to submit to it.

There is another way of employing the good offices of the ecclesiastical vicar, not less repugnant, perhaps, to decency, though more favourable to love. Suppose a man to be in love with a girl who is under the protection of her father, and she repay his affection; if they cannot obtain the consent of her relations, the lover goes to the vicar, reveals their mutual attachment, and points out the house, into which he wishes his mistress to be received until the celebration of the marriage. The vicar, after having ascertained that the consent is mutual, sends a commissary to bring the young lady from her father's house, and he conducts her to the appointed place; she remains there until the cause is ended, when the lover conducts her to hear the nuptial benediction.

Such, in general, is the nature of the ecclesiastical jurisprudence relating to marriage, throughout the whole of the Spanish monarchy; but in its application to practice, the more or less rigorous execution of the laws depends much upon the prudence and opinions of the clergyman. Latterly, laws have been made there which, in restoring to paternal authority a part of its influence over the settlement of children, have had in view the prevention of the odium gene-

rally attendant upon marriages contracted without this justly respectable controul.

The cathedral of Toledo is one of the most precious sacred monuments in Europe. Consecrated during nearly four centuries to the Mahometan worship, even when ultimately recovered by Alphonso VI. it retained the form of the mosque until the time of St. Ferdinand, who gave it its present form. All the magnificence of the Gothic edifices is here displayed; and, under the succeeding reigns, it was enriched by decorations of every description.

In the chapel of the Virgin, cardinal Portocarrero is interred, whose tomb bears an epitaph which, for its simplicity, is peculiarly striking:

Hic jacet pulvis, cinis et nihil!

In the chapel of St. James, we are irresistibly attracted to the tomb of Don Alvarez de Luna, the celebrated and unfortunate favourite of John II. who perished on the scaffold abandoned by his patron, whose short-sighted weakness had raised him to the summit of prosperity.

In the hall belonging to the chapter, are portraits of all the archbishops of Toledo, among which that of cardinal Ximenes is a striking likeness. These portraits are valuable in other respects, because several of them are of a date coeval with the revival of painting in Spain, and by comparing them, the progress of this art may be traced in that kingdom.

In the cathedral are a great number of valuable pictures. The sacristy contains one by Carlo Maratti, and another by Dominichino; the roof is painted in fresco by Luke Jordan.

The cloister of the cathedral contains a picture by an artist, Blas de Prado, who deserves more celebrity than he has yet enjoyed. The most superficial connoisseurs are struck with the correctness of his design, the excellence of his colouring, and particularly from the sweet expression communicated to his figures. This cloister is of vast extent and excellent propor-

tions. Bayeux and Maella, the two best painters in modern Spain, have traced upon its walls the principal events in the lives of Saint Eugene, and Saint Leocadia, patrons of the cathedral, and of some other saints famous at Toledo, by their zeal for the christian religion.

The see of Toledo is one of the richest in Christendom; it has often been filled by pious prelates, who would have reproached themselves had they made a profane use of their opulence, and it has always experienced the royal munificence. Behind the choir of the cathedral is a wretched piece of sculpture, called the transparente, by the exhibition of which the monks attempt to excite the admiration of the curious: it is a modern work, which disfigures instead of embellishing the church. The superstitious are here at liberty to adore a stone whereon is said to be preserved the impression of the feet of the Virgin, since the day when she descended from heaven for the express purpose of passing *in propria persona* the first chasuble to St. Ildefonso; a miracle which a modern sculptor has consecrated in one of the chapels of this cathedral. The miraculous stone is exposed to the admiration and devotion of the faithful behind an iron grating, which repels all profanation, without intercepting the homage of the devotee.

Besides the cathedral, Toledo has also twenty-five parish churches and many convents and pious foundations. Several of the latter deserve the attention of travellers; particularly the hospital of St. John the Baptist, which, from the beauty and judiciousness of its proportions, is a proof of the taste of its founder, cardinal Pavera, whose ashes are there inclosed in a magnificent tomb. It is the last work of Alphonso Berruguete, an eminent sculptor, who was educated in the school of Michael Angelo.

Toledo is also indebted to one of its prelates, cardinal Mendoza, for a very fine hospital for foundlings, in the church belonging to which, are six large pictures after the manner of Rubens.

Another asylum devoted to human suffering, is the lunatic hospital. There are two great establishments of this description in Spain, one at Saragossa, the other at Toledo. I was surprized at observing the neatness and regularity which reign throughout the apartments.

Villa-Viciosa, three great leagues from Madrid, is another royal residence to which Ferdinand VI. was much attached, but it has been abandoned by his successors.

San Fernando, another village at the same distance, has enjoyed a few years of celebrity, on account of the cloth manufactures which were formerly established there.

Three leagues from Madrid, there is a place less known, but more deserving of being so. It is called Loeches. Here are buried some chefs-d'œuvres unknown to the Spaniards themselves. The church of a small convent of nuns, founded by the count duke d'Olivarez, contains six capital pictures by Rubens, of the largest dimensions, and of the most magical effect. The principal piece is an allegorical representation of the triumph of religion. It decorates the high altar, and combines all the beauties, and even the defects which characterize its author; richness of composition, brilliancy of colouring, liveliness of expression, and carlessness of design.

The Toros de Guisando, of which many people, even at Madrid, do not know the origin, are frequently introduced into familiar conversation to express, in a burlesque manner, the courage of a man capable of facing the greatest dangers; and in this sense, the phrase is put into the mouth of one of the heroes of Cervantes. When I said, upon my return, that I had seen and touched these famous bulls, I was supposed to be a most extraordinary personage. The illusion vanished when I described the enemies I had approached.

There is another district farther from Madrid which

which occupies a still more distinguished place than the Toros de Guisando, in the fabulous history of Spain: this is the Battuécas, to which Montesquieu alludes in his Lettres Persanes, when he says that the Spaniards have in their own kingdom, whole provinces with which they are unacquainted. According to old traditions, the religion, language, and manners of the Spaniards were unknown in the Battuécas. In the neighbouring villages had been heard extraordinary voices; shepherds were afraid to lead their flocks to the place. Could any thing more be wanting to proclaim it the retreat of dæmons, or at least of some savage people? Every one related the history and particulars of it in his own way. The Battuécas furnished additional food for the gloomy imaginations of the Spaniards: they shone in their plays and romances; and Moreri did not disdain to give some of these ridiculous tales a place in his Dictionary.

Father Feijoo, an enlightened monk, was one of the first who successfully combated these absurdities. From his inquiries, and from my own journey to the Battuécas, it appears that they are two uncultivated valleys, scarcely a league in length, and so narrow, so hermetically closed on all sides, that the sun scarcely ever shines there in winter. This small district is remarkable for its groups of rocks curiously shaped, for the variety of the trees, the windings of the small river which waters these vallies, for the excavations of the mountains, and the number of animals of all kinds for which they serve as an asylum. The only human habitation which deserves to be remarked, is a convent of barefooted Carmelites, whose cells are almost buried beneath the overhanging rocks, and by the trees which shade them. We may make the tour of Europe without finding a place so well adapted for the asylum of silence and of peace. This district, which is almost inaccessible, and entirely out of the road to any town,

is quite unfrequented. The few inquisitive persons who present themselves here, are regarded as eccentrics by the peaceful inhabitants, who cannot conceive the motives which could induce them to come hither. Their territory, which they seldom or never leave, is situated in the bishopric of Soria, eight leagues from Ciudad Rodrigo, and fourteen from Salamanca.

Avila and Alcala are also two cities not far from Madrid, which a traveller might be inclined to visit, on account of their reputation.

Avila is situated upon an eminence, nearly twenty leagues from the capital. Its thick walls, its towers, its alcazar, and the dome of the old Gothic cathedral, give it an imposing appearance at a distance; but it would be difficult to exaggerate its state of depopulation and poverty.

Alcala maintains its reputation rather better than Avila. The six leagues which separate it from Madrid are pleasant; after the first, we find the village of Canillejas, surrounded by orchards and gardens; a real phenomenon in the environs of Madrid. A league farther on, we cross the Henares by a fine stone bridge, and we leave upon its right Leganes, one of the quarters of the regiment of Walloon guards; Vicalvaro, which has always a detachment of the regiment of Spanish guards, and San Fernando.

On the other side of the Henares, begins a fine sloping bank, from which we perceive the town of Torrejon, beyond which is another stone bridge over the Tojote, a small river which in summer scarcely deserves the name of a brook. A little lower down it flows into the Henares, which winds in a picturesque manner, as it approaches Alcala, and its banks are shaded with trees.

The Henares, from which Alcala takes its surname, lays at some distance from this city, at the foot of a range of craggy hills. Alcala is still sur-

rounded by walls. It is very narrow in proportion to its length, but is well built and clean: although it contains many churches and convents, and has few other branches of industry than the culture of its fields, which produce excellent wheat, it has not, like many other towns of Castile, the repulsive appearances of poverty. The university would scarcely deserve to be named, if it had not been founded by cardinal Ximenes. In order to prepare the famous edition of the Bible, known among churchmen by the name of the *Biblia Complutensis,* he invited hither some true scholars, who have had but very few successors worthy of the reputation which Alcala thus acquired.

Alcala lies upon the road from Madrid to Saragossa, a considerable city of Spain, which I visited in 1792, in order to examine more minutely the wonders I had heard respecting the canal of Arragon.

Four leagues beyond Alcala is the interesting city of Guadalaxara, seated upon an eminence, a little beyond the Henares. A fine road afterwards leads to the miserable village of Torrija; and thence to Grajanejos: the soil is barren and stony, and the road very bad in rainy weather. From the top of the hill upon which this town is situated, you perceive the prospect of a small valley, very narrow, but beautiful, and cultivated like a garden. This is the most picturesque point of view in the journey. But after passing Grajanejos, we have to traverse a most dull and naked country until we come to Bujarraval, a gloomy village surrounded by rocks, two leagues from Siguenza. The appearauce of this country grows still worse as you proceed by an abrupt and stony descent, to the bottom of a dale, where on the banks of a rivulet is situated Fuencaliente, another vill ge belonging to the duke of Medina Celi, whose chief residence is in front upon the summit of one of the circular mountains forming this valley. Here some fine houses, verdure, and fields of hemp,

which are prolonged through the valley, give an agreeable appearance to the eye. Meadows covered with cattle, and well-cultivated plains, now conduct the traveller to the hamlet of Londares; a league beyond which we find a village lately built under the direction of the bishop of Siguenza; for throughout all Spain, the prelates stand at the head of the benefactors of their country. A little further, on the summit of a mountain, is an old castle, worthy of the most flourishing era of the feudal system. It must have been formerly a military destination. At present it is one of the peaceful appendages to the bishopric of Siguenza.

From Londares to Arcos, the road is intersected by abrupt windings and broken precipices, passing through a terrific country which is the north-eastern extremity of New Castile. Arcos, a miserable town, but finely situated, is the last in the province, and one of the thirteen belonging to the duke de Medina Celi. For the three leagues which separate it from Monreal, another wretched town in ruins, and the first upon entering Arragon, the country and roads are equally terrific; we must, however, except the approaches to Huerta, a village belonging to a monastery of Bernardines, who have produced around them an appearance of affluence, a luxuriant cultivation, and plenty of trees: the difference is always very striking in Spain between the possessions of ecclesiastics and those of rich lay proprietors, and which is easily accounted for, by the constant residence of the former, and the perpetual absence of the latter. This monastery contains some remarkable tombs, and among others, those of several French gentlemen who came with the constable du Guesclin to the assistance of Henry de Transtimere. The traveller who wishes to pass a few hours in visiting these curiosities, will no doubt praise the hospitality of the monks, and will find at their table sufficient to make amends for the wretched appearance of the country.

Monreal belongs to the family of Ariza, whose principal seat is a league further off. The old family castle is on an eminence, at the bottom of which they have an elegant modern residence. The river Xalon, which we shall so often meet with, flows very near it, enlivening and embellishing the neighbourhood where it forms a cascade. We cross the Xalon by a handsome bridge. The scenery here is worthy of the traveller's pencil.

After leaving Monreal, we find a rapid descent, after which, the road is very good as far as Cetina. From this village to Bubierca we have two long leagues of a charming road, between two rows of hills. At the foot of those on the right, the Xalon waters a valley in high cultivation. Half way on, we pass this river by a small stone bridge, and proceed along it to Bubierca, a village in a picturesque situation in the midst of rocky eminences.

From this place to Calatayud, you change horses once at Ateca, a village surrounded with fertile vineyards. Travellers who stop at Ateca should ask for a sort of wine called cerinana; in colour it is something like the eyes of a partridge, its taste is mild and pleasant, and will make amends for the black, thick wine which they will meet with in this part of Arragon, to the very gates of Saragossa, and which is the most unwholesome beverage ever given to human beings.

On leaving Ateca, the valley becomes broader, but is still fertile; it is watered by the Xalon, the road following the windings of that river at a distance along the hills. I have not seen throughout Spain a more agreeable part than this valley, which is cultivated with the greatest care from Cetina to Calatayud.

Branches have been cut from the Xalon in a very simple way, which diffuse its benefits over all the adjoining lands through which they pass; and you must not come to this delightful valley to seek proofs of indolence or want of ingenuity in the Spaniards.

Half a league before you come to Calatayud, appears a chain of rugged and uncouth rocks, which rather disfigure the pleasing landscape. This city itself, is as it were incrusted in the midst of these rocks. The most agreeable part of it is situated at their foot, and overlooks a valley towards the south, of considerable breadth, adjacent to the town.

The productions of this valley, are corn, wine, vegetables, and particularly hemp, a great quantity of which is exported to Old Castile, but still more to Bilboa and St. Sebastian. The hemp is used for cordage for the navy; and is purchased by commissaries stationed at Calatayud for the purpose.

There is not any oil produced in this neighbourhood. There are, however, twelve or thirteen soap-works at Calatayud, which send great quantities of their commodities to Castile: they procure their barilla from the eastern part of Arragon.

The city is not as it was formerly: it contains scarcely 1500 houses, nevertheless there are ten parish churches and fifteen convents, some of which are remarkable, from their magnificent appearance and extraordinary size. Calatayud and Tarraçona have one bishop for both, who resides at the latter place. The former is very near the site of the ancient Bilbilis, the birth-place of Martial.

About half a league before reaching Calatayud, the Xalon receives the Xiloca, which then loses its name, although Lopez, the principal geographer of modern Spain, gives it that appellation until it reaches the Ebro. I think it best to follow the custom of the country, and the opinion of the abbé Ponz, in this respect.

The country is extremely unequal from Calatayud to the gates of Fresno, situated in a pleasant and well-cultivated valley. After having ascended some eminences, there appear in front the town of Almunia, surrounded to a great distance by vineyards, olive and fig-trees, interspersed with fields of hemp and maize;

part of M. d'Aranda's estates lie in this delightful country. This fine scenery continues to the distance of a league beyond Almunia; but afterwards we see nothing but heath and a very naked country, extending to the miserable Venta de la Romera, and even to the very entrance of Saragossa.

When you arrive at half a league beyond the last stage but one (the Muela) we begin to have a view of this celebrated city in the midst of a wide and extensive plain upon the right bank of the Ebro.

I shall not pretend to enumerate the sacred edifices contained in Saragossa; the most remarkable are the two cathedrals; one of them is called the church de la Seu, and is of a majestic simplicity; the other is famous in Spain, and even, throughout the Catholic world, as Nuestra Senora del Pilar. It is a large gloomy edifice, crowded with ornaments in a wretched style, although rebuilt at the end of the seventeenth century. But the miraculous image, around which there is not one of the ex votos, or silver lamps, mentioned by the cardinal, is in a modern chapel formed by superb marble columns of the Corinthian order. The devotion of the Arragonese could not pay less homage to the pious tradition which records the appearance of the Virgin to St. James, in order impart her wishes to him, than that her image should be placed in a temple on this bank of the Ebro.

The arches of the rebuilt part of this church have been recently painted in fresco, by the two brothers, Bayen, and don Francisco Goya, all three natives of Saragossa.

For another trait in the history of human stupidity, we must descend into a cavern of the church of Santa Engracia. Here are deposited the ashes of a crowd of martyrs immolated by persecuting emperors. Silver lamps burn here day and night in honour of them; but the smoke which they emit does not blacken the roof, and in order to prove this to the curious, they shew the roof, which, although very low,

is certainly not smoked. They invite those who are doubtful of it to put a piece of white paper over one of these lamps. I tried this experiment, and I must confess I saw, or thought I saw, that my paper was not blackened. I had still my doubts, but I took care to conceal them from my bigotted conductors. I was however tempted to say to them: God has not thought proper to work any striking miracle to accelerate the end of the French Revolution, or to calm the passions which it has roused, and do you think that he would condescend to perform here, a miracle as obscure as your cavern, and useless as your own existence?

I shall call the attention of my readers with more pleasure, to the new Casa de la Misericordia; the building of which was finished in 1792. It stands close by the old one, and does equal honour to the intelligence and to the patriotism of don Raymond Pignatelli. Of 700 persons who exercise their industry in this building, more than half work for the manufacturers of the city; for it was the opinion of its generous founder, whom Arragon and Spain have now lost, that without this expedient, the manufactures of charitable foundations would retard rather than promote industry.

There are at Saragossa an accademy of fine arts, an insignificant university, and a patriotic society. The latter deserves every encomium. It encourages every branch of industry, and particularly new plantations. It has established schools for mathematics and commerce. Saragossa, in a word, is gradually awaking from her long lethargy, and is rendering herself worthy to be the capital of the fine kingdom of Arragon.

The population of Arragon, formerly greater than at present, is now reduced to 614,000 inhabitants, of which number Saragossa contains 42,600. Arragon has made an honourable figure in the history of free governments. Although the royal dignity was hereditary, the title of every new king was confirmed by

the states, and no sovereign could mount the throne without swearing to maintain their privileges. In order to balance the authority of the sovereignty, they had established a magistrate by the name of the Justicia Mayor, who was accountable to the states only for his conduct. At the inauguration of the king this supreme magistrate was seated upon an elevated tribunal, with his head covered. The king appeared before him uncovered, and on his knees took an oath to govern according to the laws. It was then that the proclamation so often quoted of late years, was pronounced in the name of the Arragonese: "Nos que valemos tanto como vos, os hacemos nuestro rey y Senor con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros y libertades; SI NO, NO." "We who are each of us as good as you are, have received you for our king and lord, on condition that you maintain our rights and liberties; IF NOT, NOT."

Arragon contains several well-built cities, which deserve to hold the next rank to Saragossa. Huesca, which is twelve leagues from it, is situated in a district remarkable for its fertility. Tarracona, thirteen great leagues from Saragossa, is in the midst of a district well supplied with wood and water.

Terruel is situated between Saragossa and Valencia. Its name recals the adventures of two lovers, who are introduced into one of the most affecting Spanish dramas, and whose ashes are preserved with religious respect in one of the churches in this city.

Daroca, situated upon one of the roads from Madrid to Saragossa, is a place which deserves mention. Being at the foot of the mountains, and on the banks of the Xiloca, it is exposed to frequent inundations. To preserve it, if possible, from this evil, a subterraneous passage has been dug, 780 yards in length, in order to give a vent to the waters which menace it.

The principal riches of Arragon consist in its oil, which is mild and nutritive, and of an excellent flavour. There are several olive-mills in Saragossa.

Some details respecting the canal, the principal object of my visit to Arragon, will now be interesting. It passes within half a league of Saragossa, at the foot of Monte Torrero. Here are magazines, where corn, timber for building, iron, and other utensils, are deposited. These edifices contribute much to embellish the canal.

Having been introduced to don Raymond Pignatelli, the real founder of this canal, I obtained, through him, the means of making this little voyage with much personal convenience, and with great success in point of information. I set off at eight o'clock in the morning, in a large bark, in company with don Juan Payas, director of the canal. At noon we stopped where the canal is carried by an aqueduct of hewn stone, 710 fathoms in length, over the river Xalon, which pursues its course under this stupendous piece of masonry. The old canal for watering the soil, which has been cut from the Xalon, coming from the west, takes its course through the midst of a stone bridge built over the new canal, and after having thus crossed it, proceeds eastward towards Lucena.

Next day we viewed the works at Gallur, a village upon a barren eminence, on the banks of the Ebro, which approaches near to the canal at this place. A little lower down, the canal is carried by a tunnel of masonry through some very high hills, but this work is not modern. Under Charles V. the first founder of the canal of Arragon, this part of it was under ground.

Half a league lower down than Gallur we have a view of the Ebro, and in the back ground, boyond its left bank, the village of Tauste, which gives its name to a canal completely monern. At two leagues from the Bocal, after having passed the old castle of Mallen, we enter the kingdom of Navarre.

Below Formigales, we come to the bridge of Valverde, the boundary of Arragon on this side. Here the Ebro, restrained by a dyke 118 fathoms long by

17 broad, enters the bed of the canal, by eleven inlets, but which never supply it with water all at once. Close to its banks the new palace has been built. The first floor contains apartments for the governor the establishment, the adjoining edifices are magazines for timber, planks, and iron-work. The inn, which is spacious, clean, and kept by a native of Thoulouse, the chapel and the old castle, are a quarter of a league further, near the bridge of Formigales.

After examining this canal in all its details, and seeing how every thing has been provided for, every thing well conceived and well executed; when we find that to this great enterprize must be added several other monuments or establishments scattered throughout modern Spain, it is impossible to retain against its inhabitants the unfavourable prejudices still cherished by a great part of Europe, and not to admit, that if they act slowly, they at least act with wisdom, and execute their projects with solidity, and even with magnificence. The canal of Arragon seems to combine all these qualities, and its utility is attested by an experience of more than twenty years. In August 1792, it yielded two millions of reals, more than one half of which was devoted to the payment of the workmen; and the balance was to be set apart for the continuation of the work. The sources of this revenue are the produce of a tract of ground several fathoms broad on each of its banks, besides contributions in kind levied upon all the fields near which it passes. Those which were before in a state of cultivation pay one-fifth of the crop; lands recently brought into tillage one-sixth; vineyards, olive-plantations, and orchards an eighth or a ninth. At the same period an hundred thousand acres were watered by this canal; and a few years afterwards lands, formerly sold at from 100 to 150 reals an acre, rose to the value of four or five thousand. Can there be a stronger argument in favour of canals in general, and that of Arragon in particular?

This canal, it is said, is to have thirty-four locks. None of them are required however between Tudela and Saragossa; but from the latter place to Sastago, where the canal will enter the Ebro, the elevation of the ground renders them indispensable. In 179[illegible] six only were finished, the expense of the twenty-eight others, is not so very alarming; each of those already made cost no more than 200,000 reals: hence it will require only six millions for those still remaining to be executed.

The cut made from this river below Tudela, does not perceptibly diminish its waters; and it requires much greater care to guard against an overflow than a scarcity; but every thing has been so well arranged, that they can furnish almost to the tenth of an inch the quantity of water required for the canal. On the whole, it may be said that there is not a more useful establishment in Spain.

The Bocal is very near Navarre. We cross Fontellas to go to Tudela, which is only two leagues off, and is the principal town of this part of the kingdom of Navarre.

On leaving Fontellas, we have a specimen of the capital roads with which it has been provided before any other part of Spain, by the care of its viceroy, the count de Gages; these roads traverse Navarre from one extremity to the other. It is well known that one of the roads leading from France into Navarre, is that from French or Lower Navarre to Upper Navarre. Proceeding on horseback, or on mules, from St. John Pied-de-Port, a small town, situated at the foot of the very rugged Pyrenean mountain, called Alrevizar, we are two or three hours ascending it before we reach Ronceveaux, which lies at the foot of the Pyrenees on the other side. Ronceveaux, the name of which is famous in romances and in fabulous history, is at present nothing but a village, where there are some good inns, and a monastery of regular monks.

From hence to Pampelūna, the distance is only six leagues of good road, through deep valleys and among high mountains, partly covered with wood. In this stage we have, upon the right, the valley of Bastan, which has been, up to the present time, the theatre of the quarrels of the respective frontier powers. The Bidassoa here has its source; it does not produce much corn, but it abounds in fruits, maize, and meadows covered with flocks.

Pampeluna, the capital of Spanish Navarre, and the seat of the governor and viceroy, is built upon an eminence, on the banks of the small river Arga. It contains only about 3000 houses, and is protected by a citadel and fort.

Tudela, which is little more than a league from the frontiers of Arragon, is an inferior kind of city, but well built. Peralta, the wine of which is in repute, lies but a few leagues from Tudela, very near the road from Pampeluna.

The kingdom of Navarre, conquered by Ferdinand the catholic from Jean d'Albert, forms, like Biscay, a separate province, preserving its customs, particular privileges, and tribunal: here many kinds of foreign merchandize find free admission without paying any duties. They are not inspected until they arrive at Agreda, the first custom house of Castile, on the side of Navarre.

We will now return to Arragon, and quit its canal, which deserves the attention of all the admirers of useful enterprizes, and of all those who interest themselves in the public welfare; indeed if it were never finished, it would be sufficient to immortalize the name of Raymond Pignatelli; who, regardless of the two circumstances which invited him to idleness, his ecclesiastical profession, and his noble birth, has proved himself, in spite of intrigues, and the forbidding reserve of the court, one of the most active and enlightened gentlemen of whom modern Spain can boast.

Saragossa stands upon one of the two roads from Madrid to Barcelona: but this road is the most disagreeable in Spain, and gives no favourable idea either of Arragon or of Catalonia. No tract indeed can be more desert, more depopulated, more dreary, than a great part of the country, after leaving Villa Franca, where we begin to lose sight of Saragossa, until two leagues beyond the dull town of Fraga: this is situated on the banks of the Cinca, at the foot of a rugged mountain, of difficult ascent, on the road to Lerida. Proceeding from this place through the town of Bujaraloz, we arrive at the miserable village of Candaznos, after which we enter Catalonia. But we shall now proceed towards the south of Spain, beginning with the beautiful residence of Aranjuez.

The road from Madrid to Aranjuez is one of the finest and in the best repair of any in Europe. At first setting out, we come to the wide and long bridge of Toledo, a fine piece of architecture, the parapets of which are loaded with ornaments in a wretched style. We may avoid this bridge, however, and save a circuit of a quarter of a league, when the waters of the Mançanares are low.

The Mançanares is fordable a little beyond the bridge of Toledo, and on the other side begins the fine road of Aranjuez, whence are seen some groups of olive-trees, which announce to the traveller that he approaches their native soil, la Mancha, the kingdom of Valencia, and Andalusia. After having travelled six leagues, on a narrow and even road, you descend by a spiral declivity to the charming valley of Aranjuez.

The Xarama, which you cross over a very fine stone bridge, runs at the foot of the hills, by which the river is formed, to the north. As soon as you arrive in this valley, the dry and naked plains of Castile disappear, and are succeeded by a richer soil. The meadows are enamelled with flowers, and the pastures display the most lively and variegated co-

lours. The Tagus, which enters the valley at the east end, runs in meanders for two leagues, and joins the Xarama.

The learned find in this junction the etymology of the name of Aranjuez. They tell us the ancients erected temples at the confluence of rivers; that there was one in honour of Jupiter at that of the Tagus and Xarama; and that thence is derived the name Aran-Jovis, whence, by corruption, Aranjuez.

A small arm of the river escapes from the cascade, and so closely washes the walls of the palace, that from the terrace the monarch may take the diversion of fishing. This arm afterwards rejoins the river, and thus forms a pleasant island, which is a vast garden of an irregular form, in which shade and fresh air are constantly found. In every season the warblings of birds, added to the murmurs of the waters of the Tagus, and of those which are spouted from the several fountains simply decorated, form a concert much less fatiguing to the mind than the languid and unvarying pleasures which magnificence leads in its train.

The principal alleys, that especially of the Calle de la Reyna, which is the favourite walk of the court, were planted long since. The height of the trees, their enormous trunks, and thick foliage, attest their antiquity and the fertility of the soil in which they have flourished for several centuries. But these are not the only ornaments of the valley of Aranjuez. Under Ferdinand VI. this palace consisted of little else than the castle. A few poor houses scattered over uneven and rugged ground at some distance from the royal habitation, served to lodge ambassadors, and the nobles and gentry who followed the court. These huts have given place to regular, though not magnificent, buildings. The streets are straight and wide, perhaps too wide for the height of the houses and the heat of the climate. The plan, after which the new village of Aranjuez was built, was given by the marquis of Grimaldi, who, before

he became first minister to his catholic majesty, had resided at the Hague as his representative. He had there conceived the idea of forming in the centre of Castile a kind of Dutch village. His plan was accepted. The principal streets of Aranjuez are shaded by two double rows of trees, between which runs a river that keeps them continually fresh.

The village is separated from the Castle by a large but irregular square, decorated with a fountain. To cross the square in the hot season, a part of which the court passes at Aranjuez, was a painful task, from which the beneficent magnificence of the sovereign has exempted those by whom he is approached. From one of the streets of Aranjuez there runs a covered portico, which is continued to the buildings adjoining to the palace.

It would require too much time to conduct the reader through all the fine plantations of Aranjuez; I shall speak only of the Calle de la Reyna, which may be said to form the angle of the plantations of Aranjuez, and is that which is most known and remarkable in them. Its direction, for about half a league, is from east to west, and its termination at the foot of a stone bridge lately built over the Tagus. It is renewed on the other side, continues to much the same distance, and again terminates by a bridge over the same river, the windings of which can only be discovered by the imagination, while it wanders through a valley shaded with groves of high trees, which at intervals conceal its course. Behind one of these thick curtains is a cascade heard at a great distance, the noise of which is the only disturbance suffered by the tranquillity of this solitary place. If with intention to discover this cascade, we pass the second bridge of the Tagus, and follow the course of the river, it is impossible not to be delighted with the beauty of the prospects from the banks. In the happy confusion of the trees which line its borders, we recognize that Nature which Art, taking for her

model, imperfectly imitates in her feeble productions. Nature is no where more varied in her sportive caprices. Here the trees seem to have changed their element, and plunge their green tops into the waters of the Tagus. There knotted trunks, placed as in equilibrium on the banks, are ready to escape from the earth, and wait but for the northern blast to obstruct with their spreading branches the course of the river by which they are watered. As we advance, the stream reflects the tufts of waving shrubs, which, according to the idea of the abbé de Lille, receive verdure in exchange for the decoration they afford.

If we retire from the banks, the same pleasing disorder reigns in the wood, which is sufficiently thick to afford a shade, without making it too difficult to find a passage through it. At length we approach the cascade which had awakened our curiosity. We arrive at it through thick bushes, and by zigzag paths; the object of it is to take from the Tagus a part of its waters. The arm turned from the bed of that river, runs in a deep ditch between artificial banks, and goes to water some of the plantations of Aranjuez, and to provide more at hand for the wants of the inhabitants. But shade and verdure instantly cease. Nothing is here seen but the naked hills which form the inclosure of the valley; and the spectator cannot but admire the art with which the picture is finished, to recompense, as much as possible, the coarseness of its frame.

At the foot of these hills are stables of breeding mares, belonging to the king of Spain, and in which the breed of Spanish horses is still preserved in all its ancient beauty.

But the garden of the *Primævera*, or of the Spring, is the greatest ornament of the Calle de la Reyna, at the same time that it delightfully perfumes the air during the season of which it bears the name. Under Charles III. it extended to the space of a mile only; but Charles IV. has carried it on, along the whole of this alley to the banks of the Tagus.

When I first arrived in Spain, about twenty years

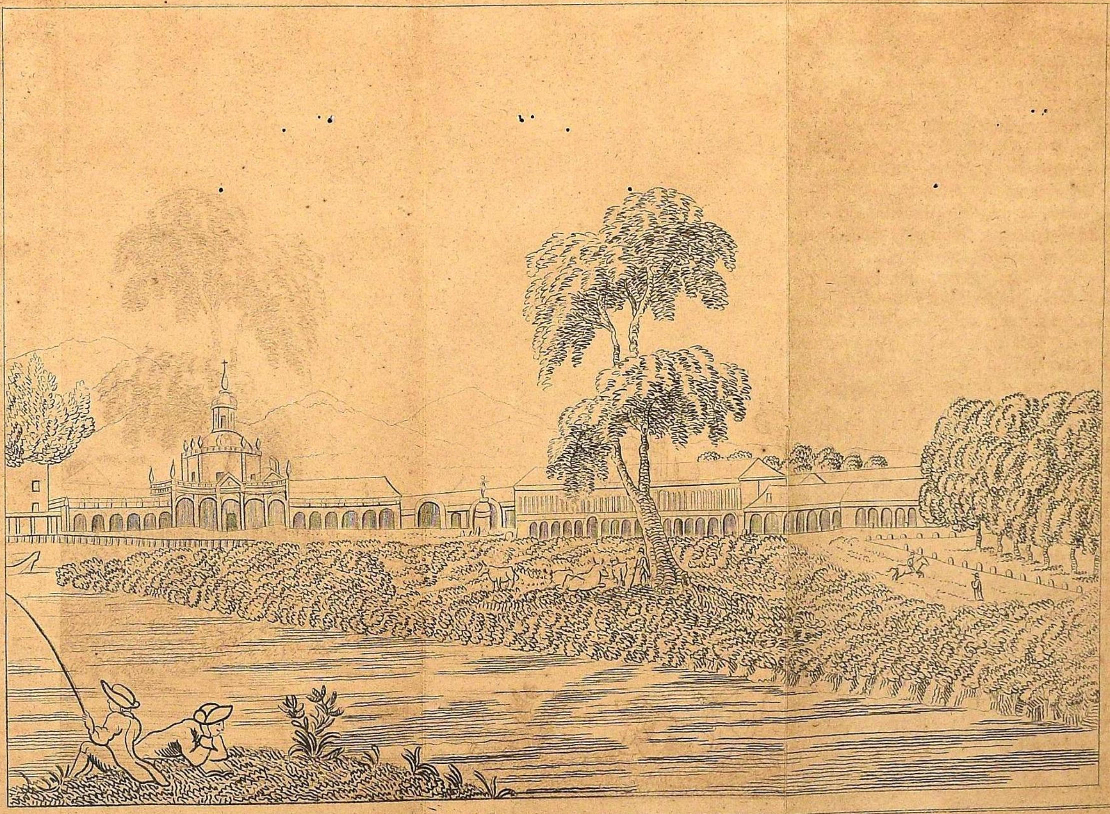
ago, all the ground between the inclosure of the garden and the primitive banks of the Tagus, was uncultivated. The present sovereign, when prince of Asturias, by his taste and attention, converted this into one of the most pleasing parts of the valley. The residence of Aranjuez favours all the innocent diversions of the country; walks are no where more varied; whether with a book in your hand you wander in the shrubberies, or pass through the long alleys on horseback or in a carriage, you may securely indulge in meditation and reverie.

The sovereign takes the greatest pleasure in embellishing his garden, yet nature has done so much for this spot; flowers and exotic plants are so profusely scattered; foreign trees, remarkable for their beauty or singularity, and particularly the long alleys of weeping willows and of catalpas, have succeeded so well, and afford such a refreshing shade; there are so many fertilizing streams, such varieties of situation, although upon an entirely plain surface, that the garden of Aranjuez certainly forms one of the most agreeable promenades in Europe.

The palace and other buildings at Aranjuez are handsome, but not magnificent. The royal apartments contained few pictures of any value during the reign of Charles III. They have been lately enriched, however, with the spoils of St. Ildefonso, and now contain upwards of 400 pictures, among which are several by Guido, Guercino, Lanfranc, Poussin, &c.

There are three churches in Aranjuez: the most modern belongs to a convent of Franciscans, called the Church of San Paschal, founded by the confessor to Charles III. in the highest part of the *Sitio*. Opposite to the church is a royal hospital, excellently situated, and worthy of being held up as an example, for the relief it affords to every description of disease.

The residents at Aranjuez are very subject to sickness, although it is so delightful a spot in other respects. While the temperature is here moderate, every thing is enchanting to the senses, and we relish the happi-



ROYAL PALACE OF ARANJUEZ.

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ness of existence. But when the dog-days approach, when the hot air pervades, and the valley is filled with the exhalations of a muddy and almost stagnant river, and with the nitrous vapours, taken up by the sun from the hills between which the Tagus flows, then is this vale of Tempé pregnant with disease and death. The people then withdraw from it, to seek a more wholesome atmosphere upon the neighbouring heights, and particularly in the little town of Ocanna, a village two leagues from the valley. Aranjuez, which, during May and June, was the rendezvous of all who were eager for pleasure and for health, containing a population of 10,000 souls, now becomes as it were a desert, where only those remain who are prevented from leaving it either by their avocations or their poverty.

Aranjuez is upon the road from Madrid to Cadiz, with the route to which we shall now briefly acquaint the reader.

It was not till the year 1705, that a post-chaise could travel from Madrid to Cadiz, this mode of travelling being formerly unknown in Spain, except upon the roads between the capital and the royal country residences.

On proceeding two leagues from Aranjuez, you first come to the small town of Ocanna, beyond which the view extends over a vast and perfectly level plain, the first specimen of La Mancha. We arrive at Guardia, which, with the exception of the church, seems a vast heap of ruins; then at Tembleque, a town with 1500 houses, and not without appearances of industry.

The next stage is a solitary house, called Canada de la Higuera, the most wretched inn on the road. Two leagues farther is Madridejos, a fine village, on leaving which we traverse three leagues of an uniform and unvaried country, to Puertolapiche, a small village, at the foot of two hills, near which Don Quixote is represented to have armed himself, on entering upon his career.

Some manufactures of coarse cottons are established at Villalta. Between Villalta and Mançanares the distance is five leagues: the latter is one of the largest towns in La Mancha, in the neighbourhood of which the wine, both red and white, is very little inferior to that of Val-de-penas, another town, five leagues distant.

Santa Cruz, two leagues beyond Mançanares, is the chief town in the domains of the Spanish grandee of that name. We next find the small village of Almoradiel, where the immense plains of La Mancha terminate towards the south.

Perhaps in all Europe there is not a country more uniform than the twenty-two tedious leagues between Templeque and Almoradiel; and nothing can be more monotonous than the view of such a dreary horizon.

La Mancha, so famous for its wines, and still more celebrated for the fabulous exploits of Don Quixote, whose historian has displayed equal fidelity as a topographer, and a painter of the manners of this part of Spain, contains several places still more remarkable than those described by Cervantes. The capital is Ciudad Real. Almagro, another town, containing 3000 inhabitants, is situated in the middle of an extensive plain, four leagues from Santa Cruz.

We will now return to the route to Cadiz. On leaving Almoradiel, we proceed westward, to the chain of mountains, known by the name of the Sierra Morena, or Black Forest. We ascended without difficulty to La Carolina, a modern town, and the chief place of the colonies of the Sierra Morena. After leaving La Carolina, we next come to Guaroman, a town built at the same period, and descend to Baylen, an ancient town, and having crossed the Rumblar, reached Anduxar.

Six leagues from Anduxar is Jaen, the capital of one of the four kingdoms of Andalusia. Anduxar, is one of the richest and most ancient cities in Spain,

but its unwholesome situation exposes the inhabitants to diseases, for which they might find ample remedies in the abundant and spontaneous productions of the vegetable kingdom. A stage of three leagues and a half conducts us from Anduxar to Aldea del Rio, a large village upon an eminence. Four leagues farther, we find El Carpio, a town with about 1500 inhabitants, upon the left bank of the Guadalquivir.

El Carpio is five leagues distant from Cordova; half of the road passes through a country naked but not altogether barren. When nearly half way we cross the Guadalquivir at las Ventas de Alcolea, by a bridge which is one of the finest works in this new road. Thence to Cordova, we have the Gaudalquivir on our left, and the back of the Sierra Morena on our right. This long chain of wooded mountains (which we never lose sight of until we enter Andalusia) affords some relief to the absolute nakedness of the country. We are now however in the heart of that Betica, so celebrated by the ancients, and which the luxuriant pencil of Fenelon has represented in such enchanting colours as the abode of felicity and abundance. Modern Betica might be so still; but, notwithstanding the most genial climate and the most luxuriant productions of nature, it now only excites our regret.

Cordova, on the side towards Madrid, has nothing of importance; but on the Cadiz side it forms a general sloping and simicircular amphitheatre along the banks of the Guadalquivir.

Although the native city of the two Senecas, of Lucan, of Averroes, and several learned Arabians, and of the great general Gonzalvo de Cordova, there is at present nothing remarkable here, except the cathedral, which is certainly one of the most curious monuments in Europe. It was formerly a mosque, but after the conquest of Cordova, in 1236, St. Ferdinand converted it into a cathedral, and it preserved its ancient form until the time of Charles V. Besides this building and a collegiate church, Cordova has fif-

teen parish churches, forty convents, and a great number of pious foundations.

The kingdom of Cordova adjoins that of Granada, and in travelling from one capital to the other, we pass over a great part of the territory of Cordova. Perhaps there never was a country so well worth the notice of travellers, and where nature is at once so sublime and beautiful: it contains the most picturesque situations, high mountains, with their tops at all seasons covered with snow; fertile valleys, where a perpetual coolness prevails, even during the heat of the dog-days. Torrents of limpid water fall from the rocks, fertilizing the plains without overflowing them, so that here, under the united influence of a burning sun and natural moisture, the most delicious fruits of every climate are produced, while plants of either hemisphere seem equally indigenous. In short, we may here see the hemp of the northern regions flourishing under the shade of olives and chesnuts. I was not fortunate enough to visit the ancient city of Granada, which retains in all their pristine beauty, the magnificent monuments of the Arabs, and where every thing brings to recollection an active and industrious people, whose expulsion was the chief cause of the downfal of the arts in Spain.

From Cordova to Ecija is a distance of ten leagues, and after changing horses at the new detached venta of Mango Negro, you proceed to Carlotta, a pretty village, the chief settlement of the new colonists of Andalusia. These colonies, the creation of humanity and wisdom, present a spectacle highly gratifying to the philanthropist. We cannot but be surprized, however, at the slowness of their progress, owing, perhaps to the repugnance of the Spaniards to leave their native place, and their aversion to changes, even though for the better. Ecija is situated between Carlotta and Louisiana. It is a tolerably large place, and one of the most pleasant in Andalusia. From Ecija may be seen the town of Estipa, situated on a

hill, at the distance of five leagues, from the top of which appears a prodigious and very fertile plain, covered with plantations of olive-trees.

Three leagues beyond Ecija is Louisiana, a new colony, the houses of which have for some years been in a state of decay. The traveller meets with the same painful spectacle a league farther on, at the last place belonging to the celebrated colonies of the Sierra Morena. They begin on the other side of the mountains at La Concepcion de Almuradiel, and comprize, in the whole, a space of more than forty leagues. The road which passes through them, and which has been so long wanted, is at length nearly completed. In order to render it fit for travelling in every season, it has been necessary to build about four hundred bridges, great and small, across the rivers, streams, and quagmires, which are often rendered impassable by the rains.

On leaving Louisiana, you perceive on the top of a naked hill some of the houses of the town of Carmona which command a view of vast plains covered with olive-trees, and producing abundance of wheat of the best quality. The distance from Carmona to Seville, is six leagues. The high road from Madrid to Cadiz does not lead, as formerly, through Seville, but through the village of Alcala, two leagues higher up on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Every traveller ought to turn out of his way to see that famous city, which is certainly the second in the kingdom, and of which the Andalusians, the Gascons of Spain, have long said:

"Quien no ha visto Sevilla,
No ha visto maravilla."*

This deviation is not unpleasant, the inhabitants of Seville having constructed an excellent road from that city to the high road

* Those who have not seen Seville, have seen nothing wonderful.

The situation of Seville is admirable, its climate delicious, and the surrounding country fertile. Yet the people avail themselves but little of such important advantages! How different, at least, is this city from what it formerly was! Contemporary historians inform us, that, when it was taken by St. Ferdinand, three hundred thousand Moors quitted it, exclusive of those who had perished during a siege of sixteen months, and of such as chose to remain. If we may belive the complaints addressed by its manufacturers to the government, in 1700, Seville had contained sixteen thousand silk looms of all sizes, and one hundred and thirty thousand persons had been employed there in the silk manufactures alone. A few years since there were no more than 2318 looms. Its present population was but too easily ascertained during the dreadful calamity which, in the year 1800, desolated this city, as well as the greatest part of the south of Spain. On this fatal occasion, 76,488 persons were attacked by the fever, which, between the 28th of August and the 30th of November, carried off 14,685.

Few cities contain so many public edifices devoted to the purposes of religion, of charity, or of the government, as Seville. The cathedral is one of the most remarkable religious edifices in all Spain. It contains a great number of pictures and statues. In the royal chapel, we remark, among other tombs, that of St. Ferdinand, covered with Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Spanish inscriptions; that of Alphonso X. surnamed the Wise, or the Astronomer, &c. But none of the tombs of these monarchs excites such interesting recollections as that of Christopher Columbus, erected in front of the choir, with this inscription; which is at least striking for its brevity:

A Castilia y Arragon
Otro mundo dio Colon.

Don Ferdinand, his son, who would be deemed a great man, had he sprung from a less celebrated father, has also a monument in one of the chapels.

The steeple of this cathedral, denominated the *Giralda*, is one of the most elegant monuments in Spain. Over one of the five naves is placed the library, which comprizes about twenty thousand volumes; and this collection is not one of mere ostentation. Excepting the capital, Seville contains a greater number of enlightened men than any city in Spain.

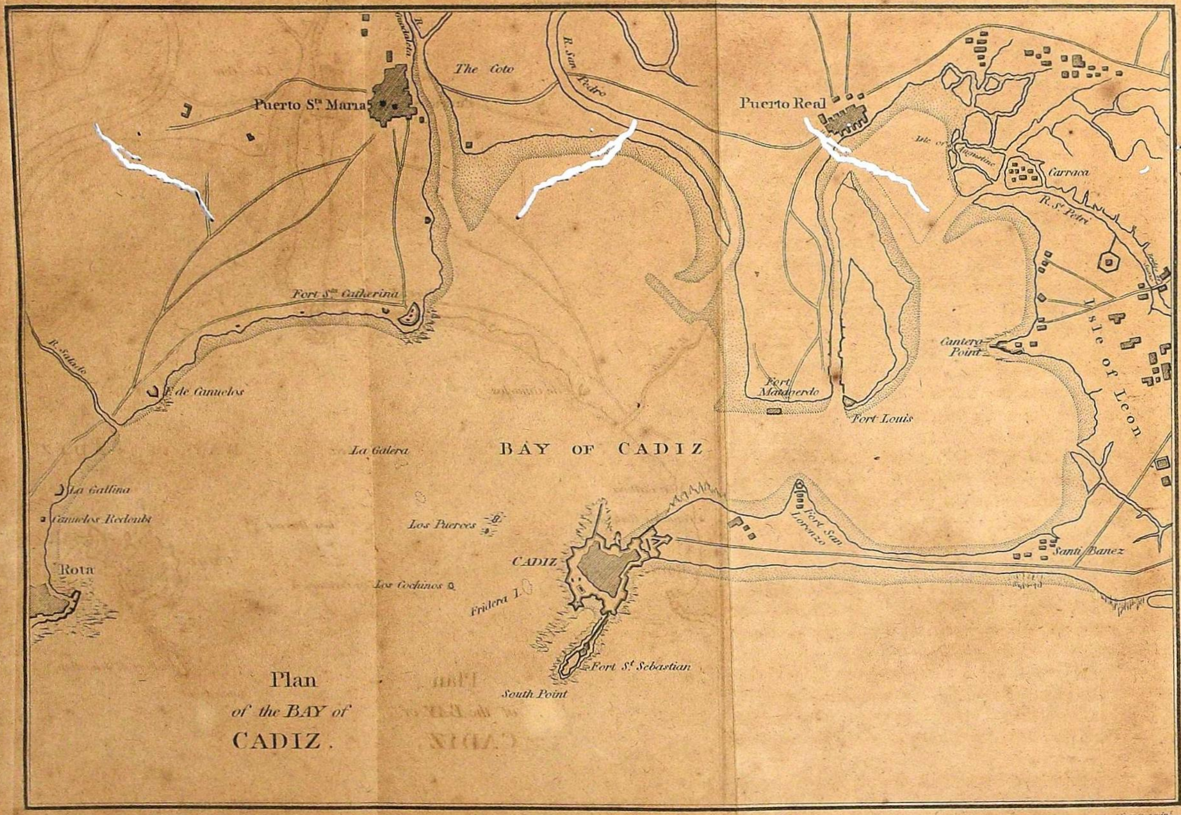
There are several other edifices at Seville worthy of the notice of the traveller. The first is the Exchange, or *Lonja*, a detached building, each façade of which is two hundred feet long. The Alcazar is a magnificent structure, begun and for a considerable time inhabited by the Moorish sovereigns, enlarged by the king don Pedro, and afterwards by Charles V. who added to its embellishments in a superior style. In this Alcazar have been deposited various fragments of antique statues, found at some distance from Seville.

Another spacious and handsome edifice is the tobacco and snuff manufactory, completed in 1757; which is a prodigious establishment, as well for the size of the building as for the number of hands employed in it.

The foundry of brass cannon, which, with that of Barcelona, supplies all the Spanish arsenals in Europe, is likewise a structure remarkable for its extent and the beauty of its arrangement. The method of Maritz, with some trifling variations, is still followed there; but a considerable saving might be made in the expenses of this establishment.

One of the most ancient buildings in Seville is the Mint; and amongst other public edifices are the seminary of St. Elmo, which contains a school of navigation; and the Tower del Oro, an ancient structure, supposed to have been erected by the Romans.

In earlier ages it was to the Guadalquivir that Seville owed its splendour. The largest ships then ascended to the very quays of that city, and those of less burden went up as high as Cordova. At present, vessels of large size advance no farther than Bonanza,



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Cooper sculp.

tible Luke Jordans. One might almost forgive the peaceful inhabitants of this charming retreat for their wealth and pious indolence, on account of their tender attentions to the two most interesting periods of life. They begin the education of thirty poor childred of the neighbouring town; and to twelve poor men, who are past work, they afford an asylum, where they may end their days in peace.

Two long leagues from this place is the town of Arcos. Before reaching it, you have to ford the Guadalete, the celebrated Lethe of the ancients. Arcos, a town containing 2500 hearths, is situated in the centre of a most fertile tract, amidst groves of orange trees, upon an inaccessible rock, from which you may discern the mountains of Ronda, Medina, Sidonia, and Gibraltar. The Guadalete partly surrounds Arcos, and roars along the bottom of a deep winding valley, where it seems to pursue the track which the poets have marked out for it.

Between the Carthusian convent of Xerez and the modern town, called Island of Leon, you travel four leagues without meeting with a single hamlet. After crossing the Guadalete, you come to a prodigious plain, on which was fought the battle which put an end to the empire of the Goths, and subjected Spain for several centuries to the yoke of the Arabs. You are then upon the confines of ancient Bœtica, and are approaching the scene of the prodigies of commerce —you are in sight of Cadiz.

The first view of its bay appears from the top of a hill, situated half way between Xerez and Port St. Mary. Here the eye embraces the whole circumference of that bay, as though delineated upon a large map.

At Xerez you have your choice of two ways, one of which leads you round the bay by land, while the other crosses it, and conducts you straight to Cadiz. If you decide in favour of the former, after passing the Carthusian convent, you come to woods of pines,

the owners of which endeavour to cut off the resources of the royal marine, by prematurely felling the trees. Beyond these woods you descry the handsome towns of Port St. Mary and Puerto Real. These you leave to the right: you afterwards come to the excellent modern road wich leads to Cadiz, and enter the island of Leon, thus called, because the piece of ground, on which it is situated, is surrounded by a very ancient navigable canal, which at flood-tide is from twenty-two to twenty-four feet deep. If you determine to cross the bay, on your arrival at Port St. Mary, you hire one of the large boats, the owners of which vie with each other in offering their services to travellers, and in less than an hour you may be conveyed to the quay of Cadiz.

Port St. Mary is situated near the mouth of the Guadalete, which by the sands which it carries down into the bay, has formed a bar, that cannot be passed over without danger, especially in winter.

On my arrival at Cadiz, in 1785, O'Reilly governed, or rather reigned there; and it must be admitted, that during his reign that city underwent salutary changes of various kinds. To him it owes its embellishment, its increase, and its cleanliness, but I cannot add its security. Assassinations were very frequent at that period, and have not since become less common. Under his active administration, however, the old houses were pulled down, and gave place to new ones regularly built. The streets were paved, made straighter, and constantly kept clean; and the vacant places were soon filled with habitations. He even endeavoured to extend the city, by gaining land from the sea. The space occupied by the custom-house, and the adjacent buildings, was obtained from that element, but at a period anterior to his administration.

Cadiz, it is known, is totally destitute of fresh water: the deficiency is very imperfectly supplied by wells, the water of which is brackish and unwholesome,

and into which runs the rain-water that falls in the inner courts of the houses. The rest of this water is collected on the azoteas: these are flat roofs in the form of a terrace, with which almost all the houses of Cadiz are furnished, or it might be said adorned, and which serve the double purpose of a walk and observatory for the inhabitants, who are extremely solicitous to discover at a distance the fond object of their anxious hopes. From these azoteas the rain-water is conducted by pipes to the cistern which occupies the open space in the interior of the house, and is thence drawn into another reservoir in one corner of the court; for the identity of wants arising from local circumstances, has produced in this city a perfect uniformity in the figure and arrangement of almost all its buildings.

These are the only resources which the inhabitants of Cadiz possess, for procuring the supply of water necessary for domestic uses. With respect to that for drinking, they are obliged to bring it from the springs of Port St. Mary, and in dry seasons, the quantity is not sufficient for their wants, though they pay, one year with another, ninety-six thousand piastres for this precarious supply—a serious inconvenience for such a populous city, for a port frequented by so many merchantmen and ships of war.

The bay of Cadiz is of such extent, that places are assigned to the different vessels according to their destination. In front of the city, but at a certain distance, is the anchorage for ships coming from European ports. Farther to the eastward, in the channel of the Trocadero, the Indiamen are laid up and unrigged. At the extremity of this channel stands the handsome village of Puerto Real, and on its banks are the magazines, arsenals, and dock-yards for merchant-vessels. The entrance of the Trocadero is defended by two forts, the one called Matagordo, situated on the continent, the other, Fort Louis, erected by Duguay Trouin, upon an islet which is left dry at low

water. The line of fire of these two forts is crossed by that of one of the Puntales on the opposite shore. All vessels are therefore obliged to sail within reach of these batteries, to pass from the great bay into that of the Puntales, or Puntal, at the bottom of which, near the magazines, are moored the unrigged ships of the royal navy.

The vast space upon which these magazines are erected, and the possession of which the sea appears to dispute with the land, is washed to the west by the River Santi Petri, and distinguished by the appellation of La Carraca, or the Caraccas. All access to this place is strictly forbidden by government to the inquisitive stranger, who is informed by the naval commandant, that he cannot be gratified with a sight of it, unless by the express command of the king. There are means, however, of accomplishing this object without it. You must go to the island of Leon, a town nearly quite new, having been built only about the middle of the last century; and which in that short interval has grown to a prodigious size. In 1790 it contained forty thousand communicants, a *datum* from which an accurate calculation may be formed of the population of any town in Spain. Its principal street is full a quarter of a league in length, and makes a handsome appearance, though its houses are uniformly decorated and surcharged with ornaments in a bad style. The Island of Leon bears, in other respects, but little resemblance to the rest of the towns of Spain. It has the appearance of cleanliness and opulence, a market abundantly supplied, and a spacious and regular public square. The naval college has been removed from Cadiz to the Island of Leon, till the completion of the new edifice erecting for it in the new village of San Carlos, contiguous to La Carraca, where it is intended to comprize in one building all that belongs to a complete establishment for military marine.

The Island of Leon is separated from La Carraca,

by a basin nine hundred feet long and six hundred broad, from which are cut two canals, the one running to La Carraca, and the other to the sea. From this town it is a short quarter of a league to the channel, which you must cross to go to La Çarraca. You are admitted without much difficulty if you are accompanied by some privileged conductor, and are shewn all that the arsenals contain. The spectator cannot forbear admiring in particular the habitation of the galley-slaves, and the rope-walk which is six hundred paces in length, and has as good an appearance as that of Brest.

Cadiz contains a school of navigation, a naval academy, and a commodious observatory, provided with excellent instruments. It was for a considerable time under the direction of don Vicente Tofinno, who has not been dead long, and who there observed the transit of Venus over the sun's disk in 1769. On the whole, we may say, that it would be difficult to find in any country in Europe, a more complete establishment for a military navy than that of Cadiz.

The circumstance which chiefly confers importance on Cadiz, and places it on an equality with the largest cities in the world, is its prodigious commerce. The extent of the intercourse of this port with the rest of Europe, in 1791, may be collected from the following particulars. The number of ships which entered it was one thousand and ten. Of these one hundred and eighty were English; one hundred and seventy-six from the Spanish dominions in America; one hundred and sixty-two from the Spanish dominions in Europe; one hundred and sixteen French; one hundred and four Portuguese; ninety from the United States; eighty Dutch; forty-one Danish; twenty-five Swedish; twenty-two Ragusan; six Genoese; two Venetian; one Hamburgher; one Russian; one Imperial; and one Spanish ship from Manilla.

The one hundred and seventy-six Spanish ships from the colonies, including that from Manilla,

brought gold and silver, coined, wrought and in bullion, to the amount of 25,788,175 piastres.

At that time Cadiz had an extensive and direct commerce with the Spanish Indies. In the course of the same year, 1791, thirty-five vessels sailed from that port for the Windward Islands; twenty for La Vera Cruz; sixteen for Monte Video; seven for Lima; eight for Honduras; five for Carthagena; making a total of one hundred and five.

The foreign nations who have the greatest number of commercial houses established at Cadiz, are the Irish, the Flemings, the Genoese, and the Germans. The latter are chiefly Hamburghers, who are peculiarly favoured by their very ancient treaties with Spain, and who, quiet in appearance, but bold and persevering in reality, engage in every branch of commerce.

The English and French, on the contrary, have the fewest houses at Cadiz, but they nevertheless take a considerable share in the commerce of that city. Twenty years ago there were at Cadiz upwards of fifty great French houses, divided into classes, according to the real, or at least the acknowledged, capital of each.

Cadiz is incontestably the most opulent, and one of the finest cities in Spain. Though it is not large, and its situation prevents its farther extension, it contained in 1799 a population of 75,000 souls. It was diminished by the destructive contagion which raged in the following year. The disease attacked almost all the inhabitants of this ill-fated city. It was observed that most of those who were born in the West India islands or in Spanish America, escaped its influence; and consequently that it was not quite so dangerous to the old inhabitants as to those who had recently settled at Cadiz; and that the majority of foreigners fell victims to its fury. It was likewise remarked, that it raged with much greater virulence among men than females. This difference was likewise observed in

1804. It was asserted to have been in the proportion of forty-eight to one; and the extreme inequality of the two sexes, which was perceived in the churches, in the public walks, and assemblies, seemed to confirm the accuracy of this calculation. It was between the 12th of August and the 31st of October that the contagion committed the greatest ravages at Cadiz; for during this interval, it attacked 47,350 persons, and carried off 7195 of that number, exclusive of the troops, who had recently arrived for the defence of the coast, and who alone lost 3000 men.

During the height of the contagion in September and October, 1800, from 140 to 170 persons died every day at Cadiz. During this dreadful calamity, M. de Morla, the governor of the city, displayed the greatest zeal and activity, and manifested repeated proofs of the most courageous devotion to the public welfare.

At the end of September 1801, a putrid fever, proved particularly fatal at Gibraltar, where in the month of October, 120 persons daily died. Cadiz did not entirely escape this new scourge, but it was much less destructive, and also of shorter duration than the former. The greatest mortality amounted for a few days only to 70 or 72. These two calamities following so closely upon each other, together with the considerable emigration which they occasioned, at first seemed to have produced a great diminution in the population of Cadiz. It appeared to be reduced to fifty thousand souls; but the cessation of the alarm, the return of the emigrants, and other causes, have rapidly raised it to nearly the same point at which it stood in 1799; and so early as the end of 1804, it was estimated at the lowest at 70,000 souls.

It would have been impossible for such a large number of people to find habitations in a space so circumscribed by nature, had not the greatest economy in respect to ground been observed. All the streets of Cadiz, therefore, except a few, such as the *Calle*

ancha, are narrow, and the height of the houses makes them in general dark; but the city is kept remarkably clean, extremely well paved and lighted, and adorned with handsome ramparts, which serve for a public walk. The proximity of the sea renders the heat much more supportable than it is at Madrid.

Cadiz, which may be called the emporium of the wealth of two worlds, possesses almost every thing in abundance. With the exception of water, you there meet with all the necessaries and conveniences of life; and in the near view of verdant meads and fertile corn-fields, you find all its charms.

At Port St. Mary, at the island of Leon, and at Xerez, there are linen manufactures, which for some years have been in a flourishing state. No linens but from this place, and those of Catalonia, can legally be shipped for the Indies; but to judge how this law is evaded, it will be sufficient to compare the quantity of goods exported to America, with what these manufactures are capable of furnishing. Port St. Mary is an establishment for bleaching wax, through which all the foreign wax sent to America ought to pass. This, however, is almost always evaded by the gratuitous payment of two ducats, the sum required for each quintal of wax bleached there.

The tables of the foreign commodities exported from Cadiz in the year 1792 and 1793, will afford an idea of the importance of the linen trade to that city. Out of a total of one hundred and sixty-four millions of reals, the article of foreign silks amounts to eight or nine millions, that of woollens to twenty-two or twenty-three, and the value of the linens alone exceeds one hundred millions.

The total amount of national commodities was not then equal to that of the foreign productions, but was gradually approaching towards it. In 1790, it scarcely exceeded one hundred and two millions of reals. In 1791 and 1792, is was between one hundred and fifteen, and one hundred and twenty; in short, to give

a summary of the prodigious extent of the commerce of Cadiz, it will be sufficient to observe, that in 1792, its exports to the Indies amounted to two hundred and seventy-six millions, and its imports exceeded seven hundred millions of reals. The capitals and credit which are necessary for such extensive concerns, must alone insure to Cadiz, for a considerable time, the enjoyment of its mercantile prosperity. A proof that it has not lately fallen off is, that in 1802 this city contained upwards of three hundred wholesale mercantile houses, among which there were much fewer foreign ones than formerly.

The manufacture of salt is one of the most productive branches of industry in the environs of Cadiz. The salt pits occupy all that part of the bay between the Puntal and Port St. Mary. Every individual is at liberty to form a salt-pit on his own ground. He may dispose of the produce to foreigners, but not to natives of the country; salt being in Spain sold exclusively for the king's account. Cadiz contains few monuments of the arts, and though a great commercial city does not possess an Exchange. Of late years, however, some handsome edifices have been erected, but the greater number of them belong to foreigners. The old Italian opera-house has been converted into a sort of institution, or place of resort for the lovers of news and of fashionable amusements. It is called the *Camorra*; its apartments are spacious, but perhaps overloaded with ornaments. The custom-house is a new building of a very good appearance. The national theatre is planned with taste. The new cathedral, begun in 1722, had cost in 1769 upwards of four millions and a half of reals, and will cost two millions of piastres before it is finished.

Another sacred edifice, the defects of which are still more striking, is the church of San Antonio, designed for an ornament to the beautiful square of the same name, but which it only serves to disfigure.

In the church of the Capuchins, is an *Ecce homo*,

by Murillo, and several other master-pieces of his school.

The walls which surround Cadiz contribute more to its embellishment than to its defence. The fortifications towards the land gate are in good condition. The entrance to the great bay would be very imperfectly defended by Fort St. Catharine on one side, and Fort St. Sebastian on the other. The lines of fire of these forts do not cross each other. One is situated on the continent opposite to Cadiz; the other is connected with the city by a very rugged beach, which is covered at high water. The light that directs vessels entering the port, is placed upon its tower.

The passage from the great bay into that of the Puntales is much better defended by the two forts of Matagordo and San Lorenzo, placed opposite each other, at the narrowest part of the bay. It is the strait protected by these two forts that you cross to go to Chiclana, a place of recreation for the inhabitants of Cadiz, many of whom have country houses at this spot, surrounded and embellished with that verdure, of which they are deprived in the city where they reside. In the two seasons of spring and autumn, Chiclana is particularly full of company. The ladies of Cadiz, who, with all the fascinations of Andalusian females, combine that elegance of manners which is acquired by associating with foreigners, the amiable *gaditanas*, are followed for a few weeks by all the pleasures of the city; splended entertainments, balls, concerts, all the display of opulence, all the efforts of the toilette. It may be looked upon as a theatre opened by luxury and taste, to which the deepest speculators repair to smooth their brows, furrowed by calculations; and to be reminded from time to time, that there are things still more precious than gold.

From Chiclana to Algesiras is fourteen leagues; the road leads through the domains of the duke of Medina Sidonia, consisting entirely of corn-fields and pasturage. In no part of them is there the least ves-

tige of a human habitation; not an orchard, a kitchen garden, a ditch, or a stile. You then begin to climb the steep ascent of the enormous chain of mountains, which terminates at the west coast of the bay of Gibraltar. From their summit you perceive the famous promontory rising from the bosom of the waves, like the genius of the cape of storms described by Camoens. The eye commands the fortress, the outlines of which, when the weather is serene, may be clearly distinguished in the horizon. It embraces in the same view the town of Algesiras, the whole circumference of the bay, two small rivers which fall into it, the town of St. Roch, the descent leading from it to the lines of the same name, and the flat and narrow neck of land which separates them from Gibraltar.

At the end of the fourteen leagues which separate Chiclana from the bay of Gibraltar, is Algesiras, a town agreeably situated on an easy declivity by the sea side. A small river named La Miel, which rises in the neighbouring mountains, washes it on one side, and gently falls into the bay. A small dock-yard lies to the right, where some of the gunboats were built which were employed in the siege of Gibraltar. During the spring tides it has water enough to float these small vessels to the sea, which is but a few paces distant. Algesiras, as well as St. Roch, is peopled with the descendants of the Spanish inhabitants of Gibraltar, who refused to live under the dominion of the English. In order to entice refugees from that place, the government conferred on the town of Algesiras the privileges which it still enjoys.

Algesiras is abundantly supplied with water. It is conveyed thither from the distance of a quarter of a league, by an aqueduct of hewn stone. A packet boat sails twice a week from this town for Ceuta, a Spanish sea-port at the distance of five leagues, on the coast of Africa, opposite to Algesiras: this voyage is often performed in three or four hours, but sometimes it requires nine or ten. The passage costs

only four reals each person; no great sum to be carried from one quarter of the world to another.

For a great part of the two leagues between Algesiras and St. Roch, the road leads along the side of the bay. You are ferried across two small rivers which fall into it, el Rio de los Pulmones and the Guaraïpe, which might be taken for an arm of the sea. After passing the latter, you leave the bay and ascend the back of the hill, on which stands St. Roch, an ill-paved town of miserable appearance, but the environs of which are agreeable and highly cultivated.

As long as two years after the peace, it was no easy matter to pass the lines of St. Roch. I obtained permission of the commandant of the lines to approach Gibraltar, and set off on horseback with an aid-major of the place, and on our left to Buena Vista, a large house on an eminence, arrived on the spot occupied by the celebrated camp of St. Roch. Destroyed by peace, as many other human establishments are by war, it exhibited, after an interval of two years, nothing but a heap of ruins. On shewing the order with which we were furnished, the great gate leading from the lines to the fortress was opened, and a petty officer was sent with us to watch, rather than to direct our motions.

After proceeding for some time along the shores of the bay, we crossed over to the side of the Mediterranean, that we might survey nearer, and in different points of view, that rock, which, for five years, had been the object of so many speculations; but with so rigid a conductor as attended us, we durst not advance beyond a very small tower, close to the water, near which the first English piquet is stationed. I shall therefore present the reader with a brief account, derived from authentic sources, of the grand enterprize which engaged the attention of all Europe, and had such a fatal termination for the continental allies.

The court of Spain, weary of the fruitless blockade

of Gibraltar, which excited the ridicule of all Europe, and of the besieged themselves, seriously determined to take this fortress by some extraordinary effort, which should overcome its steepness, its formidable artillery, and all the skill of general Elliot. Plans poured in from all quarters; some bold to extravagance, and others so whimsical, that it was scarcely possible to look upon them as serious. Several of this kind I received myself: but one of those sent to the ministers, formally proposed to throw up, in front of the lines of St. Roch, a prodigious mount, higher than Gibraltar, which would consequently deprive that fortress of its principal means of defence. The author had calculated the quantity of cubic fathoms of earth, the number of hands, and the time that would be required for this enormous undertaking, and proved that it would be less expensive and less destructive than the prolongation of the siege upon the plan on which it had been begun. Another proposed to fill the bombs with a substance so strongly mephitic, that, on bursting in the fortress, they would put to flight the besieged, or poison them with their exhalations. The plan of d'Arçon, however, engaged the serious attention of the Spanish government, although few particulars are known respecting it, except what relates to the ten floating batteries, which, on the 13th of September, 1782, foolishly exposed themselves to the fire of Gibraltar, and were reduced to ashes by the red-hot shot from the English batteries. It is well known that the ten batteries had been so constructed as to present to the fire of the fortress one side covered with a sort of breast-work, three feet thick, and kept continually wet by a very ingenious contrivance. The red-hot balls were thus expected to be extinguished on the spot where they penetrated; but this first measure proved incomplete. The aukwardness of the caulkers prevented the working of the pumps which were designed to keep up the humidity. It succeeded only on board one of them,

the Talla-piedra, and that very imperfectly. But this was not all; though the place where they were to take their stations had been but very slightly sounded, they had received instructions what course they were to pursue, in order to avoid striking, and to place themselves at a proper distance. This precaution likewise proved unavailing. Don Ventura Moreno, a brave seaman, but incapable of combining and executing a plan, vexed even to madness by a letter sent him in the evening of the 12th of September, by general Crillon, which contained this expression: "If you do not make an attack, you are a dishonourable man;" hastened the departure of the batteries, and placed them in an order contrary to the plan which had been adopted. The difference between these two positions contributed more than any thing else to the result of the day. In consequence of this mistake, no more than two could station themselves at the concerted distance of two hundred fathoms. These were the Pastora, commanded by Moreno himself; and the Talla-piedra, on board of which were the prince of Nassau and d'Arçon; but they were exposed to the fire of the most formidable battery, that of the Royal Bastion! instead of all ten being drawn up around the old mole, and receiving only obliquely the fire of that battery.

The two floating batteries which occupied this dangerous post made great havoc, and sustained dreadful loss. The Talla-piedra received a fatal shot. In spite of all precautions, a red-hot ball penetrated to the dry part of the vessel. Its effect was very slow. The Talla-piedra had opened her fire about ten in the morning: the ball struck her between three and five. The mischief did not appear irremediable till midnight. The San Juan, one of her next neighbours, shared the same fate. It appears certain, that the eight others remained untouched. But what was still more distressing, every thing was wanting at once; cables to tow off the batteries in case of acci-

dent, and boats to receive the wounded. The attack was to have been supported by ten ships and upwards of sixty gun-boats. Neither boats, gun-boats, nor ships made their appearance.

In short, according to the projected position, the gun boats were to have been seconded by the one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon at the lines of St. Roch. This co-operation was rendered impracticable. About four hundred pieces of artillery were to have opened at once upon North Bastion, Montagu Bastion, and Orange Bastion. With a superiority of nearly three hundred pieces, d'Arçon flattered himself that he should be able to silence the artillery of the fortress. But his consternation may be conceived, when he found that the besiegers had no more than sixty or seventy pieces to oppose to more than two hundred and eighty belonging to the besieged.

The combined squadron remained quiet spectators of this tremendous scene. Guichen, who commanded the French ships, went to offer assistance to Moreno, who replied that he had no occasion for any. From this time matters continued to grow worse, and no remedy could be devised. Eight of the ten batteries were at too great a distance to do or to sustain much injury; the two others bore in their bosom the elements of destruction. Moreno, despairing of being able to save any of them, and resolving that they should not fall into the hands of the English, directed that those which were already in flames should be suffered to burn, and that all the others should be set on fire. I have seen the original order to this effect. Such was the result of that day, on which were annihilated ten vessels, the master-pieces of human ingenuity, the building of which had cost three millions of livres, and whose artillery, anchors, cables, rigging, &c. amounted to nearly two millions and a half more. The worthy d'Arçon, in the first moment of his consternation, acknowledged that he alone was to blame for the fatal issue of that day. I had for a considerable time in

my possession the original of the short but emphatic letter, which he wrote to Montmorin, the ambassador, from the very shore of Algesiras, amid the dying sound of the artillery, and by the light of the burning batteries. It was as follows:

"I have burned the temple of Ephesus; ev thing is lost, and through my fault. What comfo me under my misfortune is, that the glory of the t kings remains untarnished."

On recovering, however, from the shock, d'Ar wrote a learned memoir, in which he took great pa to modify the confession which had escaped him, to prove that he had more than one partner, or rat that circumstances the most untoward and imperi constituted his only fault.

Scarcely had Gibraltar repelled beneath its w this formidable attempt, when, in sight of our arm and our squadrons, the place was re-victualled by miral Howe, who afterwards with his thirty-six sh boldly entered the Mediterranean. He was seen fr Buena Vista passing from one sea to the other: ev spectator supposed that he was running into the j of destruction. The fifty-two ships which wer the bay, weighed anchor and pursued him; but H baffled our manœuvres, as fortune had done our pl and returned through the straits in the same secu as he had entered them.

Nature, as if to render Gibraltar inaccessible o sides, has placed between the foot of this fortress the west, and the bay of Algesiras, a deep swa which extends to the land gate, and leaves betw them only space sufficient for a very narrow cause commanded by nearly one hundred pieces of can Between this swamp and the bay, a small dyke by the sea-side to confine the water; and withir inclosure of the fortress the marsh is bordered by a palisade, which begins at the foot of the mountain and terminates at the sea. This palisade was the first victim sacrificed at the siege of Gibraltar; a new one

was erected immediately after the peace. From this point you may distinctly see the old mole, a kind of narrow jetty, lined on either side with batteries. It entirely masks the new mole, which is half a league behind it.

We had an interview, across this palisade, with three English officers, who in vain pressed us to infringe the prohibition of the court of Madrid. We could not, however, refuse their invitation to drink a few glasses of porter to the health of King George III. and General Elliot; after which we returned towards the lines.

It is now necessary that I should bring back my readers to Madrid; through the kingdom of Granada; but I must confine my observations to the city of Malaga.

From Cadiz to Malaga, you traverse a beautiful country, where lofty mountains and charming plains alternately succeed each other as far as Antequera, a town agreeably situated on the summit of a very high hill. From this place to Malaga there is an excellent road, which was begun in 1783, and winds, for the space of seven leagues, along hills covered with vineyards.

Malaga itself is in a charming situation, in a climate where rain is unknown, except at the end of autumn. Towards the north and east it is sheltered by very lofty mountains, whose summits are sometimes covered with snow. Towards the west extends a fertile plain watered by two small rivers. The sides of the mountains, at the foot of which Malaga stands, are in high cultivation, being covered with almond, olive, orange, lemon, and fig-trees, and with vineyards, the generous produce of which circulates at the tables of the rich from one end of the world to the other. There are upwards of six thousand vineyards in the district of Malaga. They yield, every year on the average, more than seventy thousand arrobas of wine, half of which quantity is exported.

They produce from twenty-eight to thirty different kinds of grapes, the best of which are known by the names of Tierno, Moscatel, and Pedro Ximenez. This last appellation, the origin of which cannot be precisely learned even on the spot, is given to one of the most celebrated sorts of Malaga wine, but which is not the exclusive produce of any particular district.

The olive-tree next to the vine contributes most largely to the opulence of Malaga. In the vicinity of that city there are five hundred olive-presses; but the oil, like that of the other provinces, and for the same reasons, is not of good quality.

The mountains in the vicinity of Malaga present the mineralogist with inexhaustible stores. They contain jasper, alabaster, antimony, mercury, sulphur, lead, amianthus, loadstone, &c.

Malaga has scarcely any remarkable edifice except its magnificent cathedral, which remains unfinished for want of hands and funds; and a modern theatre which is neatly built.

This beautiful city has not only suffered from political ravages, but in rainy seasons it often experiences destructive inundations from the torrent of the Guadalmedina, which runs through it. It has now and then been visited by earthquakes, and thirteen or fourteen times by the plague. The contagion, which in 1304 ravaged Andalusia and the coasts of the Mediterranean, made greater havoc here than in any other town of Spain.

Malaga has three suburbs; the streets are narrow, muddy, and ill-paved. It is a large, rather than a handsome town, but its territory and port contribute to render it a place of considerable importance. Its harbour is very large and commodious; it is capable of containing four hundred merchantmen and ten ships of the line; while from its situation, vessels may enter or leave it with any wind whatever. The city itself takes a direct part in maritime commerce. It has about twenty brigs and snows, belonging to owners

who employ them in frequent voyages to Spanish America, Ostend, Hamburgh, Amsterdam, &c.

In 1804, Malaga contained sixty first-rate houses in every branch of commerce. It has manufactures of silks, velvet, shag, stockings, thread, hats, soap, paper, &c. Neither are the neighbouring towns without industry.

A road which runs along the sea coast leads from Malaga to Velez Malaga, a handsome little town, a quarter of a league from the Mediterranean, and the native place of the celebrated minister Galvez. To supply employment to this district he established at Machara Viaya, a village near Velez, a manufactory of playing cards, which supplies all the Spanish colonies with that article.

We will now return to St. Roch, in order to resume our route to Madrid. By making a small circuit the traveller may pass through Ximena, a small town situated on the side of a steep rock. About twenty years since, the minister Galvez established here a foundry of iron cannon and balls, exclusively intended for Spanish America.

Three leagues farther, you come to Gausin, a handsome town in the midst of steep mountains, from which the rock of Gibraltar may be distinctly seen: and two or three leagues beyond Gausin, the road runs along the sides of the hills, through vineyards which cover them from their very summits to the bottom of the valleys. The country afterwards becomes still more uneven; as far as Ronda, a town surrounded almost entirely with a double inclosure of rocks. The situation is highly picturesque: but this kind of natural fortification when it ceases to be useful proves very inconvenient.

After passing Ronda, you proceed to Canete, a town of a bad appearance, and traverse a rugged and dreary country, notwithstanding its extensive corn-fields and plantations of olives. At the end of five long leagues, you arrive at Ossuna, the capital

of the duchy of that name. The town is large, but nothing in it announces affluence. The distance from Ossuna to Ecija is only six leagues, the road leading through one of the most level and highly cultivated parts of Andalusia.

I have already conducted the reader from Ecija to Madrid, a distance of seventy-five leagues. I have now nothing more to do but to lead him back to the frontiers of France, by the route which I followed at the beginning of 1793, in consequence of an event which marked the first months of that year.

In consequence of the French revolution, I demanded a passport, and left Madrid the 23d of February 1793. As I had never visited Catalonia, which, on the eve of a war with which we were threatened, was likely to be the principal theatre of military preparations, I resolved to proceed through Valencia and Barcelona, and to return to France by way of Perpignan.

I entered La Mancha, the western part of which I had to cross on my way to the kingdom of Valencia. There are three roads from Aranjuez to Valencia: one of them, the post road, passes through Tarancon, Requena, &c. It was this that I travelled in 1783. The other, which I took on my return, conducts through San Felipe, Almanza, and Albacete. The third is the beautiful new road, which leads in the most convenient manner from Madrid to Valencia.

The capital of Valencia, though not strictly speaking, a handsome city, is at least a very agreeable place of residence, especially of late years, since the establishment of a vigilant police, which is not less attentive to its embellishment than to its security. Though its streets are unpaved, they are kept extremely clean. The soil which is very frequently removed, serves to manure the vast orchard which surrounds Valencia on every side. Idleness and indigence are banished from this city, where artizans of every description find employment. In 1783, nearly

four thousand silk looms and frames of different dimensions were kept in motion by upwards of twenty thousand of the inhabitants, exclusive of those who prepare the wood and iron-work of so great a number of machines, and such as are engaged in spinning, winding and dyeing the silk. This prosperity has progressively increased since 1783, and I am assured, that of late years, Valencia has contained eight thousand looms.

The silk manufactures are not the only source of employment possessed by the Valencians. They supply the royal arsenals with a considerable quantity of hemp. They have manufactures of woollen cloths and camlets in their capital, and fifty paper-mills, scattered throughout the country. Their wines and brandies are exported in great quantities not only to England, Jersey, Holland, and the North, by way of Dunkirk, where most of the brandy denominated Valencian, was some time since made, but also for several years past to Spanish America.

Another source of wealth to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Valencia is rice; but its cultivation detracts from the salubrity of their genial climate. They however possess means of protecting themselves from the pernicious influence of the rice lands. The quantity of rice raised of late years is prodigious. Valencia supplies all Spain, except the south of Andalusia, with rice, which is preferred to the produce of Carolina

Barilla is a production peculiar to the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia. It is an essential article in the manufacture of glass. About one hundred and fifty thousand quintals are annually made and exported to France, England, Genoa, and Venice. Soda, in Spanish, *sosa*, is a species of barilla, made use of in the soap manufactories of France and England. About twenty-five thousand quintals a year are made in the kingdom of Valencia.

Oil is one of the most abundant productions of the

kingdom of Valencia; but it is not allowed to be exported, except when the price is very low.

The industry of the Valencians even avails itself of the aloe, a parasitical plant, which seems to have been designed only for ornament and for inclosures. From its long and very thick leaves they procure a kind of thread, with which they make bridles and other articles.

They likewise export part of the wool of the second quality which their territory produces, together with numerous cargoes of dried fruits, aniseed, and cochineal raised in the country. Their abundant crops of oranges, lemons, raisins and figs, and above all their wines and brandies also, furnish them with articles of a prodigious exportation.

In the kingdom of Valencia, industry is not cramped and oppressed, as in the provinces of the crown of Castile, by royal imposts. The Valencians are, however, subject to heavy feudal services, and seignoral imposts levied in kind on the produce of the soil, amounting to a seventh, a sixth, and in some places to a fourth of the whole crop.

We will now enter Valencia, and notice the most remarkable objects in that city.

The Exchange is a spacious structure, where the merchants and manufacturers assemble, and where the chief, nay almost the only subject of their conversation and bargains, is the most valuable production of the country, silk.

The arts and belles lettres are seldom cultivated in manufacturing and commercial cities. Valencia, nevertheless, has a public library, that of the archbishop, which also contains a collection of statues and antique busts.

The Real, the residence of the captain-general, is more remarkable for its fine position than for its beauty. It is an ancient and extensive edifice, situated in the most remarkable quarter.

Near the banks of the Guadalaviar, are the finest walks of Valencia, the Alameda, Monte Olivete, and

the road to Grao, a small village on the sea-shore, about half a league from the city. For a long time Valencia had no other port than the bad roadstead opposite Grao, and nothing but a harbour seemed wanting to render it one of the most flourishing cities in Spain. Within these ten or twelve years efforts have been made to procure it this advantage, by voluntary contributions from the merchants and manufacturers. The new port will have eighteen feet of water, and will be capable of admitting large frigates. It has been formed not by digging away the beach, but by raising the water of the sea by artificial means, similar to those to which the French had recourse in the construction of the port of Cherbourg.

From the top of a tower contiguous to the cathedral, called the Miquelet, you may enjoy an enchanting view of Valencia, and its territory. The city seems to stand in the midst of a prodigious orchard, over which are scattered numberless villages and hamlets. The cathedral, though highly extolled, is an edifice rather elegant than magnificent: the walls are covered with stucco, in compartments bordered with gold. It contains, among other good pictures, some of the performances of Joanes, one of the best Spanish painters of the second rank. Great encomiums are likewise bestowed on the Temple, a modern church, in a noble and simple style. Some other churches likewise contain pictures by Joanes, Rivalta, and Orrente, the three most eminent painters of Valencia. But what distinguishes the city and port of Valencia is their manufactures, particularly of silk and woollen cloth.

The silk of Valencia may be compared in respect to fineness, with the best in Europe, but the spinning is still imperfect, because it is divided among thousands of hands, and consequently is not executed in a uniform manner. Hence the inequality of their stuffs; and on this account the Spanish silk imported into France is never made use of in any fine work.

All the villages near Valencia are charmingly placed. There are twenty situations around that city deserving the notice of travellers. If they would wish to see a beautiful Franciscan convent, let them pay a visit to that of San Miguel de los Reyes. They may make an excursion to three Carthusian monasteries in the environs of Valencia, all of which are in charming situations.

We will now leave Valencia, and the beautiful scenery around it, and continue our journey to Barcelona. After passing through Valencia, the first remarkable place which the traveller comes to is the ancient Saguntum, now called Murviedro. The castles which command the town may be seen at the distance of two leagues. At first they may be taken for the remains of the ramparts which the intrepid Saguntines defended with such obstinacy against the Carthaginian hero; but you afterwards learn that they were erected by the Moors. On the heights upon which these castles are situated, they built seven fortresses, communicating with each other by subterraneous passages, some of which are yet almost entire. It appears that Saguntum reached no higher than half way up these hills, and stood chiefly in the plain towards the sea, extending considerably beyond the present site of Murviedro; since Livy informs us that it was only a thousand paces from it, and Murviedro is a long league from the Mediterranean. In confirmation of this opinion, it is remarked, that no relics of the Carthaginians and Romans have been found nearer to the Moorish fortresses than the foot of the hill upon which they stand.

The monuments, whose ruins are still to be seen at Murviedro, were founded at the period when the Romans, after the valiant defence of the Saguntines and the destruction of their city, rebuilt the place, and made it one of their "municipia," one of the most flourishing towns they possessed out of Italy.

Among other edifices, it contained a temple of Bacchus, some relics of which are to be seen to the left, near the entrance of Murviedro. Its Mosaic pavement, which negligence had nearly suffered to be lost, has been taken up and deposited in the archi-episcopal library.

Of all the remains of ancient Saguntum, nothing is in such good preservation as its theatre. You perceive very distinctly the different rows of seats occupied by the citizens, according to their rank. At the bottom, in the place allotted in our theatres to the orchestra, were the seats of the magistrates; next those of the equestrian order, and then those for the body of the people. The two door-ways by which the magistrates entered, are still perceptible; two others exclusively reserved for the knights; and almost at the top of this amphitheatre, which continues without interruption, from the bottom upwards, you observe the two passages by which the multitude withdrew, and which the ancients on that account denominated "vomitoria." Lastly, are the highest seats, which were appropriated to the lictors and courtezans, and which are in a perfect state. The semicircular crest of the whole edifice is also entire. There may even be seen, on the outside, the projecting stones, in which were inserted the bars that served to spread the horizontal covering of cloth, which sheltered the spectators from the sun and rain; for the ancients, in their public exhibitions, foresaw and provided for every contingency. Every person had a seat, and was screened from the weather. All possible precautions were taken to prevent disorder. A place, which may still be seen, was set apart for the judges. If any spectator drew upon himself their animadversion, they directed the lictors to seize and conduct him to a particular chamber, to which they had access by a private staircase. Here they interrogated him, and if they found him culpable, he was confined till the conclusion of the exhi-

bition, in a prison under the chamber in which he was examined. From the theatre, you climb to the ancient fortresses of the Moors, which crown the hill, and on the platform on the summit, is an humble hermitage, the inhabitant of which enjoys one of the finest prospects in Spain. It commands the fertile plains between Murviedro and Valencia. He beholds the steeples of that capital rising from amidst the orchards by which it is surrounded. He has the Mediterranean before him, the whole coast of which, from Murviedro to the sea side is covered with vines, olive and mulberry trees. To the left, a chain of hills bounds the horizon, and gradually sinks to the Mediterranean, leaving no other interval between them than that occupied by the road to Barcelona.

On leaving Murviedro, the road, which was excellent, led through prodigious plains, shaded with olive and carob trees, fertile vineyards, and scenes of the most enchanting fertility, to Castellon de la Plana, a village seven leagues from Valencia.

From Castellon, the fertility of the soil perceptibly decreases. The country all around the defile of Oropesa, is utterly destitute of inhabitants, and exhibits a most dreary spectacle. Beyond this place it displays some marks of cultivation; but the rugged roads continue without intermission lo Alcala de Sibert, a kind of town situated on the side of a hill in a country neither agreeable nor fertile.

You now again approach the Mediterranean, and come to the last sea-port towns of Valencia. These are Benicarla, Vinnaroz, and San Carlos. On leaving which we traversed a wild and uncultivated country. At first we had the sea and the peninsula of the Alfaques on our right; we then turned off from them, and approached the Ebro, which we reached at Amposta, a village where we crossed that river in a ferry-boat, and where the canal which runs to San Carlos commences.

After crossing the Ebro, the traveller passes

through the immense tract of country destitute of inhabitants, and covered almost entirely with heath. This whole district is intersected by ravines, which render the travelling through it in a carriage extremely troublesome.

One of the most striking phenomena that a traveller meets with in Europe, is to find in a country so well known as Spain, between two cities so considerable as Valencia and Barcelona, so near to the sea-coast, and to the mouth of a large river, on a road so much frequented by people of every description, and even of every nation; to find, I say, extensive districts so totally destitute of resources, and all the conveniences and comforts which in every other country are the inseparable companions of civilization and luxury. This is a reflection which the most superficial observer cannot help making, especially from the banks of the Ebro to the vicinity of Barcelona.

Cambrils has a bad port, which is frequented only by a few vessels. Reus, at which you arrive soon after leaving Cambrils, is a small modern town, which industry has in a short space of time raised to a higher degree of prosperity. It is an inland place about four leagues to the north-west of Tarragon, from which it is separated by one of the most fertile and best cultivated plains in Spain.

Reus is one of those wonderful creations, which a traveller cannot help making a circuit of a few leagues to see and to admire. He will there find, under the direction of an English firm, one of the finest distilleries in Europe, a very handsome theatre, some beautiful barracks, and a general appearance of activity and abundance. Great quantities of leather are also made here, as well as at the town of Bails or Vals, which is only three leagues to the north-east of Reus.

The inhabitants of the ancient Tarragon are not idle spectators of the success of these youthful rivals. In the hope of restoring to their port its primitive prospe-

rity, they have undertaken to improve it at their own expense, by moles which render it more safe and commodious.

Just before entering Tarragon, you are obliged to ford the Francoli, which very near this spot, discharges itself into the sea. Tarragon was formerly a fortified place. Part of its ancient walls are still standing. The traveller may pursue his way to Barcelona, without entering Tarragon; but wishing to have a view of that celebrated city, I climbed up to it by a rugged path. I was struck with the beauty of its situation, but the interior of the place seemed dull and desert. The avenues on every side are encumbered with rocks, and the approach is very difficult for carriages. The cathedral is a handsome edifice, but gloomy, and supported by columns of prodigious size. Tarragon abounds in relics of Roman monuments.

On quitting the city by the gate which leads to Barcelona, you return by an abrupt descent into the high road. The environs of Tarragon are nevertheless agreeable and populous. Handsome houses extend in almost uninterrupted succession from the city to the hamlet of La Figaretto, which is a short league distant from it.

Shortly afterwards you come to the village of Vendrell, from which you proceed through a naked country to the handsome village of Villa Franca, and on leaving that place, you have before you a chain of mountains which bounds the horizon almost on every side. Here is situated the celebrated convent of Montserrat, the solitary abode of those recluses who have engaged the attention of more than one traveller, and among whom I was informed that some French prelates had shortly before taken refuge.

The monastery of Montserrat is eight leagues to the north-west of Barcelona. The only place worthy of notice in this interval is the town of Terrassa, known for its manufactures of fine woollen cloths. On the

brow of a lofty mountain is situated the convent adjoining to the church, which is one of the most remarkable monuments of sumptuous devotion. It contains eighty silver lamps, chandeliers, shrines, crosses, busts of the same metal, crowns enriched with precious stones, and magnificent apparel, all appropriated to the decoration of the image of the Blessed Virgin.

The recluses of Montserrat are thirteen or fourteen in number. Their hermitages are scattered over the side of the mountain, and occupy a space of near two leagues up to its summit. The highest, that of St. Jerome, commands a magnificent view over plains of immense extent. From this spot the eye expatiates over rivers, whose courses it pursues, cities, islands, and the expanded bosom of the Mediterranean. The tenants of these solitary retreats cannot be supposed to have much relish for beauties which daily meet their view; but setting aside that devotion which has been so bitterly calumniated, but whose allusions would embellish the most dreary desert, they here lead a tranquil and even agreeable life, without having any prescribed task to perform, without any anxiety in respect to a livelihood, without remorse, but not without austerity. In the midst of their useless wealth in the bosom of abundance, they limit themselves to a happy mediocrity, and the hospitality which they shew to travellers is almost their only expense. Philosophy might proscribe, and policy attempt to reform, but cruelty alone could find in its heart to curse them.

Beyond Villa Franca, a fine road conducts from Los Molinos del Rey, to Barcelona, a distance of four leagues. Nothing can be more delightful, more lively, more luxuriant, than the country adjacent to that capital, which is worthy, in every point of view, of the notice of the traveller. Its port contributes greatly to its embellishment, though neither good nor capacious. It is even likely to be entirely choaked up, unless a speedy remedy be applied.

The port of Barcelona, such as it is, and as it wi[illegible] long continue in its state of progressive deteriorati[illegible] is formed by a kind of bay situated between the cit-del of Mountjoy or Mountjouich, the city of Barcelo-na, and Barcelonetta, a small modern town, the resi-dence of all the workmen employed in the dock-yard and all the seamen both natives and foreigners The streets of Barcelonetta are all perfectly straight, and the houses uniform. They have been built only one story high, in order to facilitate the superintend-ance over the turbulent class of people by which they are inhabited, and not to intercept the view of the sea from the houses in the city.

There is not a city in Spain, where a greater ap-pearance of activity, or more real industry prevail, notwithstanding the causes of idleness and depopula-tion which still exist in Barcelona, as well as in the rest of the kingdom. It contains eighty-two churches, twenty-seven convents of monks, eighteen nunneries, and several congregations.

The amateurs of the fine arts will here admire three pictures by Mengs; and the lovers of antiquities will find six fluted columns of the Corinthian order, the remains of a magnificent edifice, respecting the des-tinations of which the learned are not agreed; [illegible] ruins of an amphitheatre, and of a bath; several trunks of antique statues; and lastly, a great number of in-scriptions which still continue to exercise the inge-nuity of the literati.

Barcelona is principally indebted for its splendour and opulence to its industry and the number of its manufactures. The chief are those of cotton; one hundred and fifty manufactories being engaged in the spinning of that material, and the same number in making printed calicoes. Those of bone-lace, blond-lace, ribbons, thread, furnish employment for twelve thousand persons, and as many are employed in the various branches of the silk manufacture.

The Catalonians have almost entirely robbed Franc[illegible]

of the manufacture of hats, immense quantities of which were made at Lyons. In the single city of Barcelona there are upwards of twenty manufactories, which not only supply the demand for hats at home, but export part of their commodities to Spanish America.

The manufacturers of Catalonia have derived greater advantage from the assistance of the French, in respect to the improvement of the art of dyeing. Within these seven or eight years they have made themselves masters of the secret of dyeing cotton red. At Barcelona and in its district there are twelve or fifteen establishments of this kind, that have been formed by French refugees, and where they begin to produce colours of a beauty and durability that leave very little room for further improvement.

The cultivation of madder, to which considerable attention has for some years been paid in the environs of Tortosa and Valencia, cannot fail to promote the progress of this branch of industry; especially since the Catalonians have recently acquired a perfect knowledge of the art of grinding that plant, and adapting it to the dyeing of their cottons.

Such are the latest particulars we have been able to collect relative to the state of industry and manufactures in Catalonia.

Next to Barcelona, the principal city in Catalonia is Lerida, distant twenty-five leagues from the capital. In this interval, you meet every hour with towns or villages, except in the last four leagues. The five first lead through a country abounding in the gifts of nature, and enriched by the efforts of industry. The tract over which the next four leagues conduct you, exhibits a striking proof of the enterprizing activity of the Catalonians.

Pursuing the route from Barcelona to Lerida, you pass through the towns of Igualada and Cervera. The country between these places is not so beautiful or so well cultivated.